ST. PATRICK & HIS GALLIC FRIENDS

F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK, D.D.

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ST. PATRICK AND HIS GALLIC FRIENDS

BY

F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK, D.D.

AUTHOR OF
"IRENÆUS OF LUGDUNUM"
"CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA," "ATONEMENT AND MODERN THOUGHT"
"CELTIC LIFE AND THOUGHT," ETC.

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WITH REGARD TO THE CHAPTERS ON

ST. PATRICK'S CONTEMPORARIES

THE FOLLOWING OPINIONS HAVE BEEN GIVEN:

Professor ROBINSON ELLIS (August 4th, 1908).

"I have been reading your dissertation on Orientius and St. Patrick with the greatest interest. It is a real contribution to the literature of early Church History. . . . Your theory is a most interesting one and I hope you will take steps to publish it soon."

Professor J. I. BEARE, Editor of *Hermathena*.

"It is desirable that they should be published in the interests of the many who are curious about St. Patrick and his contemporaries."

W. H. D. ROUSE, Editor *Classical Review*.

"I am much obliged for your paper on St. Patrick, I quite agree that it should be published." February 5th, 1910.

Professor J. B. BURY (October 13th, 1912).

"There is a good deal still to be done on some of the Gallic contemporaries of St. Patrick."

Dr. N. J. D. WHITE, Deputy for Regius Professor T.C.D.

"I think your comparison of Irenaeus (Latin translation) and Patrick most interesting and almost convincing."

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

At this present time, when the British and Irish troops and our French allies are united in the field against a common foe, it is well to remember the early connexion between the Churches of Britain, Ireland, and Gaul. This little book has been written to remind all whom it may concern of the time when Gallican bishops came over to help the British Church in its difficulties, and when Gallican bishops educated, trained and consecrated a bishop who was afterwards universally regarded as the National Saint of Ireland. It is pleasant to think that British and Irish soldiers and sailors are at present giving their lives to save the ancient home of Martin, Honoratus, Germanus, Orientius, and other Gallican Saints, whose influence, direct and indirect, upon British and Celtic Christianity demands our lasting gratitude. In the following pages a short account will be given of some of these early Gallican teachers who generously assisted our native Churches in their struggle with paganism and heresy, and more particularly of the manner in which the mind and character of St. Patrick was moulded and developed under the kindly influence of the great teachers of the Gallic Church. Explanatory notes, authorities, and references are given at the end of each chapter.

F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK.

December, 1915.

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ST. PATRICK AND HIS GALLIC FRIENDS

PART I.

ST. PATRICK.

CHAPTER I.

CHRISTIANITY IN IRELAND BEFORE ST. PATRICK.

IT is uncertain when Christianity was introduced into Ireland. We know that the Britons were converted very early and that there was a Church in Britain in the fourth century which was in constant touch with the Church of Gaul. For the Council of Arles (A.D. 314) was attended by three British Bishops—Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, Adelphius of Lincoln,[1] with Sacerdos, a presbyter, and Arminius, a deacon; and in the Council of Ariminium (A.D. 359) more than three British Bishops also took part. There is a statement in Eusebius[2] that the Apostles went so far as the so-called British Islands, and Chrysostom[3] says "the British Isles felt the power of the Word." and "if you go to the British Isles you will hear men discussing the Scriptures." Gildas mentions three British martyrs—Albanus, Aaron, and Julius—who suffered martyrdom with many others in the persecution of Diocletian (303–311). It is hardly credible, then, that this ancient British Church, which was in existence

and fully organized at least three hundred years before the landing of Augustine in the Isle of Thanet (A.D. 597), would have left Ireland neglected until A.D. 432,[4] when Patrick landed at Inverdea by the mouth of the present River Vartry, then the Dee. The legend that it was this Saint that first brought Christianity to Ireland did not appear, as Professor Zimmer [5] has pointed out, until more than " two hundred years after Patrick's death."

There are facts to prove that there were Christians in Ireland before the arrival of Patrick. Palladius,[6] who came before him (A.D. 431) and whose mission proved a failure, was consecrated and sent by Pope Celestine, as Prosper [7] tells us in his *Chronicle*, written at Massilia just two years afterwards (A.D. 433), " to be the first bishop to the Scots (Irish) who believed in Christ " (*in Christum credentes*). Here is an express mention of a Christian community already in Ireland. Had such not existed, the Pope would have sent a missionary not a bishop. Augustine of Canterbury was only consecrated at Arles by Archbishop Aetherius [8] after he had gained a footing in Kent, and made some converts. Muirchu relates that when Patrick was studying at Auxerre, he met two Irishmen—Auxilius and Iserninus (Fith)—who came to Ireland after him. These were afterwards ordained by him in Kilcullen according to Tîrechán.

Furthermore, there are some traces of these early Christians in (1) language, (2) opinions, and (3) dwelling places. We have quite a number of old Irish words which show that Christianity came to Ireland from Britain. For they would have a different form if they had been brought into the country by Patrick and his companions. For instance, *Cruimther*, priest,

came from the Latin presbyter, but not directly as it would have if Patrick brought it, but through the Welsh *Premter*.[9] The Irish word for Trinity (*Trindoit*) also came through the Welsh *Trindod*, and *Casc* for *Pasch* is due to British influence, *cenn* in Irish representing *penn* in British. With regard to the religious opinions of the Irish Christians, we may venture to say that some of them at least were followers of Pelagius. Pelagius, who went to Rome about A.D. 400, was an opponent of the doctrine of original sin, and an advocate of the dignity of human nature and the freedom of will. There was much in these doctrines which appealed to the independent spirit of the Celt. But that in itself would hardly account for the reverence in which the name of Pelagius was held and with which his Commentary [10] on St. Paul was regarded. The fact is that Pelagius was an Irishman, whether he was born in Britain [11] or in Ireland, and that the Irish were prouder of him than of Patrick because he was more learned and famous in those days. Jerome, his enemy, jealous of his splendid presence and his courtly grace and eloquence, which made a great impression upon Pope Zosimus, and of his shoulders "broad as a Milo's," taunted him with "being fed up on Scotch (=Irish) porridge."

Pelagius had something to do with the mission of Patrick, who appears to have been educated in Lérins (Lerinus), an island off the south coast of France, where Vincentius and Faustus of Riez had both favoured the views of the Irish heretic. It was there that Patrick was first brought into touch with the monastic ideal of life and the teaching of the Eastern Church, and there, as an ancient hymn, ascribed to the poet Fíacc, hath it—

"In the Isles of the Tyrrhene Sea [12] he fasted, in them he computed,
He read the canon with Germanus, that is what writings narrate."

But when in Gaul Patrick came chiefly under the influence of Germanus, with whom it would seem that he went to Auxerre (Autissiodurum) to study. Shortly afterwards Germanus was made Bishop (A.D. 418), in succession to Amator, and in A.D. 429 he and Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, were sent to Britain, and there in a conference at Verulamium (St. Albans) defeated the Pelagians. Constantius, the writer of the *Life* of Germanus, tells us that the two bishops were sent from a synod of Gallic bishops which had met in consequence of an appeal from Britain. But Prosper, who has already been mentioned, in his *Chronicle*, under the year 429, states that Germanus was sent by Pope Celestine "on the advice of the deacon Palladius," and overthrew the heretics and made the Britons return to the Catholic faith. We notice in Prosper a desire to magnify the Pope. For instance, he wrote in a work in answer to Cassian [13] that Celestine "with no less care freed the British Isles from the same disease" (Pelagianism), and "by appointing a bishop for the Irish had made the barbarous island Christian," although he must have been aware of the failure and retirement of Palladius, who had been sent by Celestine to Ireland. We cannot, therefore, attach much importance to Prosper's statement. But it was doubtless in consequence of the success of Germanus in Britain that Palladius was sent to Ireland, and when he died in North Britain, to which he had retired, that Patrick was consecrated by Germanus as Bishop, to extend and build up the Church in Ireland. The heresy of the Irish Pelagius had, therefore, an

indirect connection with the coming of Patrick, although it is hardly conceivable that the early Church of Ireland had fallen into error. There was heresy in Ireland, at all events, when St. Patrick's *Breastplate Hymn*, which speaks of "the false laws of heretics," was written. The letter of Pope John to the Northern Irish (A.D. 640) reproaches them with Pelagianism, and Arianism also seems to have spread among the Irish. Muirchu lays stress on the fact that Patrick embarked for Ireland in the name of the Holy Trinity, and that he baptized "in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

Moreover, the names of some of the early Christian teachers who are said to have lived at the same time as Patrick, and even before him, have been preserved in their *Lives*, from which copious extracts are given in Ussher's *Antiquities of the British Churches*. Of these Declan, Ailbe of Emly (which is supposed to be mentioned by Ptolemy), Ibhar, and Kiaran of Ossory [14] (Seirkeiran), who was called "the first-born of the Saints of Ireland" thirty years before he came, are connected with parts of Ireland with which Patrick had little or nothing to do. But the lives of these saints are so full of contradictions that no importance can be attached to them, unless, as is probable, these saints may have been confused with later men of the same name. It is probable that, having found that others were at work in the south-eastern parts, the district most accessible to the Christians of the north-west of Britain, he confined himself to Connaught and Ulster.

The intercourse which seems to have been maintained between the ports of Wicklow and the ports of South Wales and Britain would be a very ready channel by

which Christian ideas would first enter Ireland through the south-east of Leinster. In the earliest traditions of the Church of Ireland St. Finian of Clonard is said to have spent some years at Menevia under St. David. And if we find traces of Irish settlements along the Severn in the third and fourth centuries, and if we have Welsh princes in the tenth and eleventh centuries taking refuge in Ireland, it is probable that British princes and peasants sought refuge there after the withdrawal of the Roman troops had left them exposed to the inroads of the Picts and Scots which evoked "the groans of the Britons," as their letter to Aetius was called (446),[15] and to the invasions of the Saxons (449), who, in the course of two centuries, drove the Britons into Cornwall, Wales, and Cumberland? Malory's legends of Arthur and the Round Table tell of Tristram's visit to Ireland, and the Welsh legends of Bran also speak of an early intercourse with Ireland. The Welsh and Irish were of the same Celtic or Goidelic race. And as Giraldus Cambrensis has pointed out, there was a great family likeness between the early Churches of Ireland and Wales. Among other points of similarity he mentioned, the use of croziers, bells, the Culdee Order, lay abbots, hereditary benefices, and reverence for St. Patrick. This last point, reverence for St. Patrick, gives some support to the theory that Patrick's birthplace, Bannaventa, the precise locality of which is uncertain, was in south-western Britain, and was not Ail Clúade, the rock of Clyde, now Dumbarton, in Strathclyde. If this were the fact, it would give an additional force to Patrick's desire to work in Ireland.

Furthermore, both Tírechán and Muirchu, who wrote memoirs of St. Patrick, tell us that he found

"*a small carving of the cross*" in a graveyard in Roscommon; and Tírechán states that when Patrick was ordaining Ailbe at Shancoe (Senchua), he told him of "*a wonderful stone altar in the mountain of the children of Ailill*," which is supposed to have been placed there in older times by Christians. Tírechán also speaks of "*the past saints of Hibernia.*" [16] He describes Patrick on Crochan Aigli (Croagh Patrick) unable to see the sky and land and sea because of the birds that surrounded him. For God said to *all the saints of Hibernia*, dead, living, and yet unborn, "Go up ye saints to the mountain which is higher than all the mountains of the west and bless the peoples of Hibernia." It would appear, therefore, that the first writers of Patrick's life do not claim that he was the first to bring Christianity to Ireland. The story of Cormac MacArt's refusal to be buried with his pagan ancestors in Brug-na-Boyne, early in the third century, is also a proof that some ray of the Christian religion had reached our shores in those days. Professor Bury [17] also cites the prophecy of the Druids concerning the coming of Patrick, which he says has nothing to stamp it as *post eventum:* "Adze-head shall come with a crook-head staff; in his house with hole-head robe he will chant impiety from his table, from the front part of his house all his household will respond: So be it, so be it." This would show that the Druids were already acquainted with certain Christian customs. The attempts of Patrick to introduce a new Paschal cycle,[18] or system of calculating Easter, and a different tonsure, may also be taken to prove that there were already Christians in Ireland, who had a Paschal system and a mode of tonsure of their own, which they would not give up for Patrick.

Indeed, it would be hardly credible in an age when Christianity had spread so completely over the vast Roman empire as to be regarded as the State religion, that Ireland, which was on the very verge of that empire, should remain untouched by its influence. We may well believe that the success of Patrick at Tara was largely due to the fact that previous contact with Britain, King Loigaire's wife and his daughter-in-law having been both British princesses, and with the Roman empire, to defend which against the Franks King Dathi, the predecessor of Loigaire, led an expedition to Gaul, where he died in 428 (three years before Patrick came to Ireland), had prepared the way for the Gospel. Finally, we may mention that in the Kerry peninsula of Dingle is a stone-roofed house known as the Oratory of Gallerus, where that good man used most probably to pray alone. This is assigned by Dr. Petrie to a date earlier than the coming of Patrick.

We have therefore found that there was at least some knowledge of Christianity and some Christians, hermits and heretics, saints and kings, living in or connected with Ireland in the days before Patrick came to work among us. And in justice to him, be it said that he does not claim to have brought Christianity to Ireland, but to have worked in districts where no one had ever gone before "to baptize or ordain or confirm." [19]

[1] Colonia Londinensium, supposed to be an error for Lindensium. Lincoln is probably a Celtic word, meaning a flat shore.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs quote from Sulpicius Severus, "Only three bishops from Britain, on account of poverty, accepted the State allowance."

[3] Ev., *Dem.*, iii. 5; vi. 635; and viii. 111. Tertullian (c. 208) and Origen (c. 239) also state that there were Christians in Britain.

[4] For date see Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 59.

[5] *Early Celtic Church*, p. 9.

[6] In the *Lives* of St. Patrick certain churches are said to have been founded by Palladius, *e.g.* Tigrony (*Tech na Roman*), House of the Romans; Donard, the Lord's House of the Highfield (*Donnach Airte*), and *Cell Fine* (the Church of the Tribes), where he is said to have left his books.

[7] Prosper was a satellite of Rome; in his *De Ingratis*, a poem against the Pelagians, he says of Rome, "whatever it does not possess by its arms, it holds by its religion."

[8] Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 27.

[9] See also Zimmer, *Early Celtic Church*, p. 25.

[10] The Irish Canons of the eighth century quote from Pelagius as an authority equal to Jerome or Augustine. In the *Book of Armagh* "the Prologue of Pelagius to the Epistles" is mentioned many times. The Würzburg MSS. of St. Paul's Epistles of the ninth century are founded on the original Commentary of Pelagius (Zimmer, *Early Celtic Church*, pp. 20–21).

[11] Mr. Nicholson (*Keltic Researches*) says he "was doubtless a Goidel of Britain." Dr. Bury (*Hermathena*, xxx.) suggests that his family belonged to the Irish settlements in south-western Britain. This would explain why he was called "Pelagius Brito" (Briton) by Augustine, Prosper, and other contemporaries. It has been suggested that Caelestius, the companion of Pelagius, was not an Irishman, but an Italian of Campania, by Professor Bury in the same article. But there is nothing to show that he was not Irish.

[12] The first of the so-called sayings of Patrick also speaks of his connexion with the islands in the Tyrrhene Sea.

[13] *Contra Collatorem*, xxi.

[14] See Ussher, *Antiquitates*, vi. 332, who quotes from the *Life* of Declan;

[15] See Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, pp. 85–93, and *Early Celtic Church*, p. 17.

[16] Signaculum crucis Christi; altare mirabile lapideum in Monte Nepotum Ailello; Hiberniae sanctis omnibus praeteritis. Íarfechán and Muirchu are both in the *Book of Armagh*. See Dr. Gwynn's edition.

[17] *Life of St. Patrick*, 79, 299. "Adzehead was evidently a nickname for a tonsured monk." See Muirchu (*Book of Armagh*).

[18] Professor Bury (*Life of St. Patrick*, p. 373, *et seq.*) infers from the fact that the Irish in the days of Patrick kept their Easter from the 14th to the 20th of the moon and not before March 25th, the system which had been altered at Rome after A.D. 343, when Easter was allowed to fluctuate between the 16th and 22nd of the lunar month (March 21st and April 21st of the calendar), that the Paschal system had been introduced into Ireland *before the arrival of Patrick*, who would, of course, have brought the new system with him. Cummian in his letter to Segene of Hy (about A.D. 632) describes the method of calculating Easter introduced by Patrick as different from that which obtained among Irish and Britons. With regard to *tonsure* and *Easter*, the *Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland* (Ussher,

vi., 477, *sqq.*) states that in the time of Patrick there was one tonsure "from ear to ear," that is, the old Celtic form which Irish Christians had before Patrick, and one Paschal system "from the fourteenth of the lunar month after the vernal equinox"; but in the third period there were two forms of tonsure, the Roman "corona" or crown, and the Celtic, and the two ways of keeping Easter mentioned above. This shows that whether Patrick did or did not try to introduce the new style of tonsure and Easter, he certainly did not introduce the old Celtic style, which was there before him. See the story in Tírechán's memoir of the two brothers, Mael and Caplait, the teachers of Ethne and Fedelm, whom Patrick is said to have converted. Mael had an Irish name owing to his having the native tonsure, the front part only of his head being shaven. Caplait (Capillatus) had a Latin name and the Roman tonsure. The proverb "Mael is like unto Caplait," one tonsure is as good as another, evidently gave rise to the story.

[19] *Conf.*, 51.

CHAPTER II.

THE DOCTRINE OF ST. PATRICK.

THE writings of St. Patrick, his *Confession* and his *Letter* to the soldiers of Coroticus, bear no trace of later Roman ideas or doctrine, and make no mention of Rome or of its Bishop. The Creed of St. Patrick which is given in the *Confession* has special features which suggest an Eastern, not a Western source. It is wonderfully like the Creeds of Irenaeus, Bishop of Lugdunum (Lyons), in the south of Gaul, at the beginning of the third century; and we know that Irenaeus was brought up in the East under the influence of the great Polycarp, who was a pupil of the Apostle John. When in Gaul Patrick would have learnt something of the *Treatise* of Irenaeus against the heretics, and imbibed something of his veneration for the Apostle John. The Celtic clergy were remarkable for their love of that Apostle,[1] and it is quite possible that it was from Patrick, who found the watchword of his life in John iv. 10—"the gift of God," that they derived that regard.

In these works and the *Hymn*—the original of which may have been composed by Patrick—the only genuine remains of Patrick, there is no allusion to "relics,"[2] which had become a fashionable craze in Italy and Gaul since Ambrose had discovered the bones of

Gervasius and Protasius (386) in Milan, and wrote a hymn *On the Discovery*, describing the miracles of healing performed by their touch, which belong to the same class of miracles that are performed in our time at Lourdes.

Again, Patrick's love for and loyalty to the Scriptures is abundantly proved. In the *Book of Armagh* we are told that he often presented "the Books of the Law and the Books of the Gospel" to the communities he founded. He was called "the man of the enduring language" or "of the Holy Canon," because of the importance he attached to the Scriptures. And the only copy of the entire New Testament, which has come to us from the ancient Irish Church and is now in the *Book of Armagh*, is called "the Canon of St. Patrick." Tírechán tells us that Patrick used to write alphabets (abgitoria) for the young students, which may possibly, as Dr. Whitley Stokes suggested, refer to short catechisms, "the ABC of Christian doctrine." The same ancient writer says that he saw a Psalter written by Patrick for Sachall; and that Justus, a deacon of Patrick, possessed "books of Baptism," which his master had given him. It is little wonder, then, that the few pages he has left us are full of quotations from the Scriptures, many of which are evidently given from memory, and most of them are from the Old Latin, not from the Vulgate,[3] and not a few seem due to the influence of the Latin translation of Irenaeus.

In these writings we find no trace whatever of what might be termed Roman doctrine, such as transubstantiation, worship of the Virgin, Invocation of the Saints, or Purgatory.[4] Patrick did speak of the Scots, as the Irish were then called, and the daughters

of chieftains becoming " monks and virgins of Christ " [5] in great numbers. But the early Church of Ireland was monastic to a large extent. There were married clergy, but there were also men and women who devoted themselves to a life of single blessedness. The monastic life was the religious ideal of the day. But it was not a Roman but an Eastern system. The derivation of monk and monastery show that they came from the Greek, not from the Latin. It was the Thebaid of Egypt that saw the first Christian hermit, Paul of Alexandria, who fled thither with his companions during the Decian persecution (A.D. 249–251).

Antony in the next generation also sought the Thebaid desert, and lived there severely alone. But Pachomius, who died 348, was the founder of the Coenobitic system, that is, of monks living in a community. His sister became an abbess of a convent of nuns. Other communities were formed in the desert of Scetis and in the Nitrian mountains, in Egypt. Hilarion, a pupil of Antony, introduced the system into Syria, where, a hundred years after, Symeon Stylites [6] became the founder of the order of pillar saints. St. Basil founded societies in Pontus; Eustathius in Armenia. Thence the system spread to the West. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, whose sister Marcellina " took the veil," became a strong advocate of virginity. Island monasteries sprang up all around Italy. In Gallinaria, in the present Gulf of Genoa, Martin, afterwards Bishop of Tours and founder of monasteries in Gaul, was brought up. Gorgon, Capraria, Palmaria, and the Dalmatian Islands began to swarm, or, as the poet Rutilius said, to " look black" [7] with monks. But the island monastery where Patrick is said to have been educated was that of Lerinus, off the south

coast of France, where Honoratus had founded a monastery on Eastern lines.

Muirchu, the writer of one of the memoirs of Patrick, tells us that he was a pupil of Martin of Tours. Martin of Tours, who regarded all kinds of manual labour and industry in which the monks of various monasteries occupied themselves as hindrances to devotion, allowed the younger brethren to transcribe books. This we know was one of the principal occupations of the Celtic monasteries, and it may have been introduced by the influence of Martin.[8]

Another point to be noted in connection with the Celtic establishments is this, that they resembled colleges rather than convents, and that the chief business of the monks was not meditation and ascetic practices, but reading, teaching, and copying the Scriptures. When the Norman monasteries, which were Roman, were planted all over the country in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they treated the Celtic establishments, which had managed to survive the Danish incursions and their own " family " feuds as strongholds of heresy.

In fact, but for this reference to " monks and virgins," the *Confession* and *Epistle* of Patrick might have been written by an Irish Churchman of our day. Patrick's intense belief in the reality and comfort of prayer was shown by his practice of saying a hundred prayers in the day and as many in the night season. He reveals his own life struggle and devotion in a manner that must touch every human heart. He tells the story of his neglect of God in his youth, and his punishment and repentance with a fervour and humility that cannot but stimulate those who read. Filled with a deep sense of his own unworthiness, and of the

goodness and " gift " of God, he is eager for the salvation of men, the word of truth, the extension of the Church, and the crown of martyrdom. The missionary passion was, indeed, strong in his soul, as it was in that of Ignatius of Antioch. The vision of Victoricus coming to him when in Britain, with a letter called " the voice of the Irish," which, as he read, seemed to be " the voice of those who lived hard by the wood of Fochlad nigh to the western sea," [9] reminds us of the vision that impelled St. Paul to cross the waters of the Aegean Sea and sail for Macedonia.

Patrick did not describe himself as Bishop of Ireland, but as a Bishop in Ireland.[10] He speaks of his episcopate as " full of labours," [11] and of the grace that had been given to him so abundantly that " many tribes should be born again and confirmed, and that clergy should be everywhere ordained for them." [12] He had a great love for the Gospel, which he says induced him to return to Ireland after his escape.[13] But he also valued highly the unity and order of the Church, which missionaries always found and always will find essential to the progress and permanence of their work. " It was necessary," he says,[14] " to spread our nets that a great number might be taken for God, and that *there might everywhere be clergy to baptize and exhort* a people poor and needy." He made his way to regions where no one had ever gone before to *baptize, ordain clergy, and confirm the people.*[15]

Patrick reminds us especially of St. Paul, in all the labours and dangers he experienced ; in his devotion to the Gospel ; in his adhesion to the Church order of the New Testament ; in the soundness of his doctrine and the sweep of his vision ; in his missionary

zeal, in his love, in his courage, in his faith and in his spirituality.

It is, indeed, strange that the Venerable Bede, who completed his history A.D. 731, and who took a keen interest in the beginnings of Christianity in Britain and Scotland should not have referred to Patrick of Ireland in his history, especially as he has a note in his *Martyrology* on the 17th March : " Day of S. Patrick, a Confessor in Ireland " (*In Scotia S. Patricii Confessoris*), and that Adamnan, writing about A.D. 690, makes but a brief allusion to him. But as both Bede and Adamnan had a dislike for the Celtic Church and a desire to advance the Roman Church, we are not surprised to find that they passed over a great missionary to Ireland who had not Roman orders, and whose mission was not from Rome.

There may be yet a more charitable interpretation of the silence of Bede. It was from the archives of Rome that he obtained the material for his history. He states in his preface that his friend Nothelm went to Rome and found, after an examination of the library of that Church, some letters of Pope Gregory and other pontiffs, and brought them back to him. Now, had there been any account of Patrick in these archives, it would have been a splendid opportunity for Bede to advance the cause of Rome in England by dwelling on the glorious missionary career of her emissary. The presumption, accordingly, is that there was nothing in the Roman archives about Patrick, and that because Patrick had not been sent by Rome to Ireland.

In fact, there was a remarkable ignorance of both the British and Irish Church among the Roman clergy.

Bede inserts a letter from Archbishop Laurence, who succeeded Augustine in A.D. 604 to the bishops and abbots of Ireland, in which he said that " before we knew this island of Britain we regarded the Britons and Scots (Irish) with equal esteem, but when we knew the Britons we supposed the Scots (Irish) must be superior to them." He proceeds to say how one Dagan, an Irish bishop in Britain, and Columbanus the abbot in Gaul, did not differ in any respect from the Britons in their habits, " for Bishop Dagan, when he came to meet us, refused not only to sit at our table, but even to abide under the same roof." The result of Laurence's overtures to the Irish Church was disappointing to him, and the estrangement lasted until Bede's time.

The Irish Church continued to resist the encroachments of the Roman See until the twelfth century. In this matter they concurred with the ancient British Church, which differed from the Roman Church in its time of celebrating Easter, its form of tonsure, in its administration of baptism, its mode of benediction, its manner of ordination, its married clergy, but above all, in its refusal to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. One cannot but admire the independent spirit of the Irish Church, similar to that shown by the British Church, which struggled against the yoke of Romish ordinances, and tenaciously clung to its own. But one cannot be surprised that it was in consequence of this that " the Roman attitude to the Celtic Church, both British and Irish, in the latter part of the seventh century was one of unmitigated hostility." [16] Had Patrick been sent from Rome, the Church of Ireland would not have been so antagonistic to Roman claims. In her independence of Rome she reflects the

independent spirit of her founder, who never refers to any connection with Rome, but distinctly leads us to infer that he was elected Bishop in Britain, where his appointment was opposed by some clergy on the ground of the sin of his youth.[17] Had Patrick been sent from Rome, Laurence would surely have appealed to that fact in his eirenicon to the Irish bishops. It would have been a strong argument to win over the Irish to Roman ways. It is used nowadays by those who favour Roman pretensions in Ireland. It would surely have had double weight in those earlier times. Why did he not beseech them to be true to their founder, St. Patrick, and obey the Church that sent him?

[1] At the Synod of Whitby Abbey, founded by St. Hilda, when the date of Easter was discussed, the Irish party, under Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, pleaded the authority of St. John for the Celtic usage; and Wilfrid, in whose favour Oswy decided, urged the authority of Peter for the Roman use (A.D. 664). For the literary connexion between Irenaeus and Patrick, see article by present writer in *Hermathena*, 1907, and *Irenaeus of Lugdunum* (Cambridge Press), Appendix.

[2] As Zimmer has pointed out, the very word "relic" in Irish underwent a change of meaning after the submission to Rome, before that time meaning burial-place, as the modern Irish *reileag* does, or dead body, while the word *martre*, and not the Latin reliquiae (relics, Ambrose's *Letter*, xxii.) was used in old Irish for "relics." Zimmer mentions the old Irish treatise on pagan cemeteries, *senchas na relec* (*The Ancient History of Burial Places*), where *relec* (pl. of *relic*) stands not for the bones of Christian martyrs, but for the burial places of pagans. (*Celtic Church*, p. 119 ff.)

[3] Dr. Newport White's *Latin Writings of St. Patrick, Proceedings, R.I.A.*, pp. 230–232.

[4] St. Patrick's Purgatory on Lough Derg had nothing to do with the Saint. It was founded by Owen, an Irish Knight who fought in the wars of King Stephen, more than seven hundred years after Patrick's arrival in Ireland (see Olden's *Church of Ireland*, p. 264). It was first mentioned by Henry of Saltry, who wrote A.D. 1153, and was not known to even Probus or Jocelyn.

[5] *Conf.*, 41.

[6] Robertson, *Church History*, ii. 38.

[7] *Squalet* lucifugis insula plena viris. (C. H. Keene's Edition, p. 144.)

[8] Cf. the description of the monastery of Lughmagh under Bishop Mochta of Louth :—

> " Three-score psalm-singing seniors
> Were his household, royal the number,
> Without tillage, reaping or kiln-drying,
> Without work, except reading."
> —*Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 256.

[9] *Conf.*, 15.
[10] *Ep.*, 1.
[11] *Conf.*, 26 ; laboriosum.
[12] *Idem.*, 38.
[13] *Conf.*, 61.
[14] *Idem.*, 40.
[15] *Idem.*, 51.
[16] Warren's *Celtic Church*, p. 41.
[17] *Confession*, 32.

CHAPTER III.

THE WRITINGS OF ST. PATRICK.

WE shall now glance at the writings of Patrick. They are three, and consist of a hymn, a letter, and a document which he called a *Confession*, but which was really a brief sketch of his life work. With regard to the hymn, known as "St. Patrick's Breastplate," or "Armour," [1] there is some uncertainty as to whether it was composed by Patrick. The late Professor Atkinson, a Celtic authority, wrote: "It is probably a genuine relic of St. Patrick. Its uncouthness of grammatical forms is in favour of its antiquity." [2] Patrick always regretted his difficulty of speaking Irish and Latin purely. This was the "rusticity" which he deplores, and of which three expressions, one in bad Irish—*modebroth* [3], and the others in worse Latin—*gratzacham*,[4] *Cyrie lession*,[5] *Christe lession*,[5] have been handed down to us as the *curse*, the *thanks*, and the *prayer* of the saint.

The Hymn.

The hymn is written in the very way we should expect a foreigner who had not mastered the language would write. And even if the hymn were not, in the form we now have it, his composition, it is of great interest, because of the manner in which it reflects the

spirit of the early days of Christian Ireland. *Hymn* 583 in the Irish Church Hymnal is Mrs. Alexander's version of this old *Lorica*, attributed by the voice of tradition [6] to Patrick. A less poetical but more accurate version is given in the *Writings of Patrick*, by Dr. C. H. H. Wright, which begins :

> " I bind myself to-day
> To a strong power, an invocation of the Trinity.
> I believe in a Threeness with confession of a
> Oneness in the Creator of judgment."

The central theme of the hymn is Christ, His Presence and His Power, a very comforting thought to the Celt, who lived in awe of evil spirits and influences. This is rendered by Mrs. Alexander in the well-known verse :

> " Christ be with me, Christ within me,
> Christ behind me, Christ before me,
> Christ beside me, Christ to win me,
> Christ to comfort and restore me,
> Christ beneath me, Christ above me,
> Christ in quiet, Christ in danger,
> Christ in hearts of all that love me,
> Christ in mouth of friend and stranger."

But Dr. Whitley Stokes' version of the sixth line, " Christ in breadth, Christ in length, Christ in height," gives us a beautiful reminiscence of *Ephesians* iii. 18, 19, a passage which must have been known to Patrick : [7] " What is the *breadth* and *length* and *depth* and *height*, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge."

The occasion on which this hymn is supposed to have been written was one of great interest in the life of Patrick. Few are the Irish who have not heard of Slane and of the Celtic monuments of the dead at New Grange, Dowth and Knowth, which are in its vicinity

on the banks of the Boyne, and most probably gave it its ancient name *Ferta-fer-Feic* (" Graves of the Men of Fiac "). Slane is some ten miles from Tara, where the High King of Ireland, Loigaire, was then holding a festival, which some would identify with the May ceremonies of Belltaine,[8] when huge bonfires were lit all over the country after the lighting of the fire in the King's palace. On the brow of the hill which was visible from the King's palace at Tara Patrick had lit his Easter fire, which was at once noticed by the Druids, who foretold that unless that fire were quenched that night, it would never be quenched, and that he who kindled it would overcome the Druids and win over the people of the realm. Thereupon the King ordered his chariots to be got ready, and drove over the plain Mag Breg, wheeling " left-hand-wise " in order to get magic power over those who had dared to kindle their fire before the King's.

The story, whch is no longer history but legend, describes some marvellous encounters between Patrick and the Druids, in which the Druids were defeated by the superior magic of Patrick. But the fact remains that Patrick was induced to accept an invitation to Tara. It was for this journey, full of unknown perils and ambushes, that he is said to have composed the Hymn. As we read it, we see that not only are all the Christian powers, the Godhead, the Trinity, angels and prophets, invoked, but also all the elements of the world which were mentioned in the old pagan oath, " The Sun, Wind, and Elements," by the aid of which the Tuatha de Danann sought to prevent the landing of the Milesians in Ireland.

It does seem superstitious in a Christian to implore the might of heaven, the brightness of sun, the brilliance

of moon, the flashing of the lightning, the firmness of rock, the swiftness of wind, and the depth of the sea to be his defence against "Satan's spells and wiles, and demon snares of sin," against "incantations of false prophets," against "the black laws of heathenism," against "the deceit of idolatry," and "the spell of women and smiths and Druids." Patrick was, indeed, superstitious, like the people of his day. He believed that there was such a thing as magic. He would not have declared that the feats of magic which the Druid performed were imposture or scoffed at his pretensions of raising a storm or calling down fogs and mists, and controlling the forces of nature. He would have granted all that; but his position would be that the Druid performed these miracles with the aid of evil powers, but that God was stronger and mightier than all, and He would employ all the things He had created in His battle with evil, and the good would eventually overcome.

The hymn was, therefore, a sort of charm against magic and the powers of darkness. It was called, like other hymns of this nature, *e.g.* those of Gildas and Columcille, a *Luirech* [9] or Armour hymn. This is more fully borne out by the very first word, Atomriug, which Dr. Petrie rendered *At Tara*, but which, as Dr. Whitley Stokes pointed out, means, "I bind unto myself." Another name for the hymn is the "Deer's Cry" (Faeth Fiada), from the story told in the *Tripartite Life* of St. Patrick, that as he and his eight followers were advancing to Tara chanting this hymn, they fell into an ambush, but as their enemies rushed out to slay them they only saw eight deer and a fawn speeding away over the hills.

The Confession.

The next work we shall speak of is called the *Confession* of Patrick, which recalls the more famous work of Augustine of Hippo. It was written evidently in old age, and concludes with the words: "This is my confession before I die." From it we derive all the real information we have of Patrick's life and history. Had he possessed a great literary turn and training, he might have told us more of himself and his work. As it stands there is no more forcible, graphic, and touching piece of writing than this apology for his life. He tells us his story briefly and casually, not to win awe, interest or admiration for himself, but to show us how good God had been to him, and how He had used a poor instrument for a great and noble work.

His father was Calpurnius, a deacon, and his grandfather Potitus a presbyter.[10] He calls himself Patrick (Patricius), a sinner; he confesses his lack of education, his difficulty in writing and speaking Latin, his "rusticitas" or lack of culture; and entreats the readers of his writings if he has done or proved anything according to the Will of God, that they should not regard it as his work, or "the work of his ignorance," as he expresses it, but as the *gift of God*.[11]

He writes, he tell us, (1) that his brethren and relations may know the quality of his soul,[12] that is, his character; (2) that he may explain [13] the Name of God and the Persons of the Holy Trinity, and leave his work behind him for his brethren and his sons whom he has baptized in the Lord; (3) that he may strengthen and confirm the faith of his brethren and fellow servants,[14] and (4) that he may defend himself against his enemies. But he writes with much

hesitation, for he fears to "fall upon an evil tongue," that is, to provoke hostile criticism, because he has not studied as others who were well versed both in law and theology, and he has also had the trouble of translating his discourse into a foreign language, as one may see from the style of his writing.[15]

Patrick had many enemies. He seems to have offended several by his manner. His appointment to Ireland was not popular among his "seniors" in Britain.[16] They alleged his illiteracy against him. It would seem that a council was held somewhere in Britain to elect a missionary for the "enemy," [17] and that Patrick was looked upon as the most suitable man, but some of his elders came and urged against his election to a charge full of dangers and troubles,[18] the sin of his youth,[19] which he had confessed to his "soul-friend," but which had been divulged by him to others. The shame of that terrible day when those elders, who had been working secretly behind his back, came forward and alleged against him that sin of which he had long since repented was branded upon the man's soul. That same night, however, he was comforted by a vision, described in c. 29. "In that night," he says, "I saw in a vision a name [20] without a title written over my face. And then I heard a Divine voice saying to me, 'We have seen with displeasure the face of our Bishop-elect without his title.'" That vision strengthened Patrick in his resolve to undertake the journey and mission which neither the objection of his seniors nor the tears of his relations were able to alter. To Ireland he came and from her shores he never again departed, for he was, as he described it, "bound by the Spirit thereto." [21] Many a time he longed to go back to Britain, his

fatherland, where his relations resided ;[22] and even to go as far as the Gauls to visit his brethren, and to see the saints of the Lord face to face, but his sons are in Ireland, and he will not leave them. But he wishes his work to be a benefit to his brethren as well as to his sons. It is for this purpose that he gives his creed,[23] which bears a strong resemblance to the creeds cited in the Treatise of Irenaeus, and which Patrick must probably have learnt in Gaul.

But his enemies who urged his sin and his unfitness against him before he came to Ireland seem never to have left him at peace. In cc. 48–50 he answers a charge of having enriched himself at the expense of his converts. He denies that he has ever taken a screpall (scruple=3*d.*) or the price of his shoe from the thousands he had baptized or the clergy he has ordained. But, on the other hand, he has lavished his own money upon the Irish, even the price of fourteen slaves[24] and refused to accept the gifts and ornaments which Christian brethren and religious women cast upon the altar.[25] For he knows that poverty and calamity suit him better than riches and luxury. And he calls God to witness that he had never any other motive save the Gospel and the promises of God in returning to Ireland.[26] He lives in daily expectation of murder or slavery or some such mishap, and he prays God that he may pour out his blood for His Name's sake.[27]

Like St. Paul, he narrates the perils and difficulties, sufferings and hardships which he had experienced from friend and foe alike, not in the spirit of boastfulness, but in order to vindicate his character, and to prevent any stain from clinging to and injuring his mission. Painfully conscious of his deficiencies, and

of that *rusticity* of style which was his " thorn in the flesh," he has Christ for his advocate.[28] And his gaze is ever fixed on the immortal life [29] and the resurrection in the glory of Christ Jesus.[30] Steeped in the language of devotion which he had found in the Pauline Epistles, he had in their writer the inspiration and example of his own missionary career; and for him as for St. Paul to die was to be with Christ. In the sight of the Cross which had given him his freedom he, like Paul, felt his own unworthiness. Paul is " the least of all saints." [31] Patrick is " the vilest and least of all the faithful, and the most contemptible." [32] And as it was the grace of God that made Paul what he was; [33] it was the *gift of God* that blessed the life and labours of Patrick,[34] upheld him when he was well-nigh overcome; [35] and it was God in him Who helped him to endure the slanders of his own countrymen and *the twelve dangers* by which his life was threatened.[36] It is to be noticed that this Confession in its devotional and uplifting attitude reads in many places like a prayer. The number of quotations from the New Testament and the Psalms is equally noteworthy. There are ten quotations from Romans viii.; six from 2 Cor. xii.; eight from Philippians ii.; eight from Acts xx. 22; four from Mark xvi. It was in such passages that Patrick found the motive and inspiration of his life work, the ideals, examples, and incentives of his sublime self-sacrifice, his glorious hope and his splendid faith.

The Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus.

This letter is an illustration of the vigour and resolution of St. Patrick, as the *Confession* is of his piety and humility. After the withdrawal of the

Roman forces from Britain, some British chiefs took advantage of the weakness of their neighbours to advance themselves. These local leaders were called tyrants or rulers (*guletic*), and if they were not regarded as the successors of the Roman *dukes*, were sufficiently powerful to be regarded as princes. In the days of Patrick, one of the British chieftains, named Coroticus or Ceretic,[37] was ruler of Strathclyde, the district of Scotland between Solway Moss and the Clyde or between the walls of Hadrian and Antonine. His seat was *Ail Cluade*, the Rock of Clyde, now known as Dumbarton or the fort of the Britons (Dun nam-Bretum). In one of the memoirs of Patrick (Muirchu's) he is called King of *Aloo*.

This prince made an incursion into the north of Ireland with his *soldiers* and certain Picts and Scots, and in this raid fell upon a number of newly-baptized Christians, on the day after they had stood in their white raiment and chanted, and while the sign of the Cross was still fragrant upon their brows. Some of these they slew, and others—the women—they carried away to a captivity worse than death. Patrick, on hearing of this outrage, sent a letter by a holy presbyter to them, desiring them to release their prisoners, at least those who were Christians. This they refused to do. The Irish bishop then sent an open letter to the subjects of Coroticus, who were "holy and humble in heart," desiring them to have no dealings with the prince whom he styles "patricide and fratricide," and foretelling what will be the future punishment of the raiders unless they repent and restore the captives.[38]

The letter is, indeed, a sad witness of the wild and lawless deeds which Christians perpetrated upon each other. The Britons of Strathclyde had used the help

of the Scots and Picts, who were their neighbours, to revenge the raids of the Scots and Picts from Dalriada and Dalaradia in the North of Ireland, and permitted their savage allies to massacre the Christians who had just received baptism from St. Patrick. The Britons, who are his own fellow countrymen,[39] were Christians, and therefore the responsibility of these bloody deeds is theirs. As for the Scots, they are heathen and knew no better. But the Picts are apostate,[40] they have fallen from the faith. We know not whether the letter had the desired effect of touching the heart of the British prince, who perhaps may have been powerless to restrain the violent deeds of his allies.

The letter begins with an outburst of indignation and bitterness. The Bishop feels deeply for his children whom he had begotten and confirmed in Christ, for whom he has suffered a life of long exile in a strange land, and for whom he would lay down his life. It passes then to a pathetic appeal that would move the most stolid of hearts. "Perhaps," he says, "they do not think that we have been partakers of one Baptism or that we have God for our Father, and they imagine it is a disgrace to be born in Ireland." The Irish sequel of the story related, and perhaps invented, by Muirchu was, that Coroticus was turned into a fox.

This sketch of St. Patrick's writings should lead us to take a deeper interest in the life and character of one who, although not the first Christian missionary in Ireland, was one of the greatest, and whose faith in Christ, love for the Scriptures, and zeal for the salvation of the heathen should at least inspire those who represent the Church, for which he toiled and wrought, to make more strenuous efforts for the cause of Christ and His Church in Ireland.

[1] Olden, *History of the Church of Ireland* (p. 210), points out that *Luirech* (*Lorica*, Lat.) was used by the Irish in the sense of armour.

[2] *Liber Hymnorum*, II., p. lviii.

[3] = God's doom day.

[4] *Tripartite Life*, ii. 291. Gratias agimus = Thank you.

[5] = Lord have mercy.

[6] The *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* (Rolls Edition) gives the hymn in the original Irish.

[7] *Confession*, 25, quotes previous verse.

[8] The story is given at length by Muirchu, but in a shorter form by Tírechán, and, as Dr. Todd perceived, is unhistorical, but it is a pretty legend which has grown round the fact that Patrick did light an Easter fire on Slane Hill before he went to Tara. But it is to be remembered that the Festival of Belltaine was a month later in the year.

[9] Luirech is from *Lorica:* breastplate.

[10] They belonged to the class of smaller landowners who were not of senatorial rank, but were members of the urban council. They were called *decuriones*, and were responsible for the government taxes levied on the community. To escape this obligation many took Holy Orders. But we do not suggest that it was for this unworthy reason that Calpurnius and Potitus did so. See Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 19.

[11] *Conf.*, 62.

[12] *Conf.*, 6.

[13] *C.* 14. This seems the meaning of *expandere* here. Cf. Lucr. i. 127: "naturam expandere dictis," and Irenaeus, ii. 28, 7 "pandamus Deum" = explain, and not spread. If there were: Arians in his time in Ireland, the meaning is still clearer.

[14] *C.*, 47.

[15] *C.*, 9.

[16] *C.*, 25. "Aliquanti seniores." It is possible that *seniores* may be meant for *presbyteri*, presbyters.

[17] The Irish were called "the enemy" thus early: the name clung to them for many centuries.

[18] Lit., "a laborious episcopate" (*C.*, 26), that is, an episcopate which promised to be full of labours, for he had not taken up the duties of it at the time he writes of.

[19] *C.*, 46.

[20] Reading *nomen*, name, for *noctis*, which is doubtful after *noctem*, and is due to influence of vidi in visu *noctis* of *C.*, 23, *erat* is also omitted by *Boll.*

[21] *C.*, 43.

[22] *C.*, 43.

[23] *C.*, 4.

[24] *C.*, 52.

[25] *C.*, 49.

[26] *C.*, 61.

[27] *C.*, 59.

[28] *C.*, 25.

[29] *C.*, 49.

[30] *C.*, 59.
[31] Eph. iii. 8.
[32] *Peccator rusticissimus. C.*, 1.
[33] 1 Cor. xv. 10.
[34] *C.*, 62.
[35] *C.*, 28.
[36] *C.*, 35.
[37] In the old Welsh Genealogies (Y. Cymmvodor, 9, 173, edited by E. G. B. Phillimore) we find traces of this prince in the pedigree of "Riderch the Old," who reigned between A.D. 570 and 600, who was son of Tutagual, son of Clinoch, son of Dumngual, son of Cinuit, son of *Ceretic Guletic*. These five generations of princes would represent about one hundred years, and Ceretic would be ruler of Strathclyde about 460–470, which would agree with the chronology of Patrick. (Zimmer, p. 54; Bury, p. 314.)
[38] *C.*, 4.
[39] He calls them "cives" (citizens) in scorn.
[40] The Picts had been converted by Ninian, who built a stone church, *Candida Casa*, White House, about A.D. 400, in Galloway, where Whitehorn is now; but they had relapsed into paganism. It was these Picts and Scots that Columba sought to evangelize in the next century. A Scot himself, he brought from Bangor his friend Comgall, who was a Pict, to help him with the Picts.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LIFE AND MISSION OF PATRICK.

FOR the leading facts of Patrick's life we depend not upon the many *Lives* of the Saint, which frequently confound the real with the miraculous, but upon his own *Confession*. The first difficulty is his birthplace. In his *Confession* he mentions his village home, Banavem Taberniae,[1] which is supposed by some to be Bennaventa, and to represent one of the three Banwens in Glamorganshire. There his people had a small country place. This theory is supported by Bishop Browne, of Bristol, in a recent lecture on the early connexion between the Churches of Britain and Ireland. The hymn of Fíacc declares that Patrick was born at Nemthur, which the oldest glossator of that hymn identified with Ail Cluade, the Rock of Clyde, now Dumbarton, an impossible place for a quiet gentleman's residence in those days, as it was a frontier military station. This theory was probably due to the connection of the Prince Coroticus, to whom St. Patrick's letter was addressed, with that place. It has also been suggested that *Bonaven* is "the mouth of the Avon," and one authority, who explains the name as "bright place," has identified it with Glastonbury, which is described in the twelfth century *Life of St. Gildas* as "urbs vitrea," city of glass, and in

the Calendar of Oengus [2] as "Glastonbury of the Irish." Cardinal Moran believes in the tradition [3] that Patrick was a monk of Glastonbury. At Glastonbury he is said to have had as tutor Sen Patrick, or Old-Patrick, who died there at the same time that his pupil died at Saul. So state the *Hymn* of Fíacc, and the *Chronicon Scotorum*. But it is rightly held that these Glastonbury legends are post-Norman and of no authority.[4] At any rate, the British market towns like Venta Silurum (Caerwent) and Roman settlements such as those at Glevum (Gloucester), Ad Aquas (Wells), and possibly Aquae Solis (Bath) and Avalonia (Glastonbury) would be within reach of Irish raiders who had sailed up the Severn and whose ancestors had made settlements, as Zimmer points out (*Early Celtic Church*, p. 17), along the Severn valley. Is it possible that Patrick may have come from Cornwall, which had frequent communication with Brittany, and where Pirian, who is said to have been his friend, lived at St. Ives? Here a small church was discovered in 1835 buried in the sand. The parish is called Perranzabuloe (*i.e.* Perran in the Sand (Sabulo)). Perran is the Irish Kiaran, and this Perran is said to have been connected with Seirkeiran, then Saigir, in Ossory. The church resembles the ancient Irish structures in its small dimensions, and Cornish Christianity has many points of contact with Irish.

Patrick tells us that he was taken captive in his fifteenth year, and carried with many others to Ireland. The general opinion, based on Muirchu's and Tírechán's memoirs, is that he was taken to Dalaradia, the Pictish district of Ulidia, now known as Ulster, and there in the valley of the Braid and under the shadow of the round hill of Miss (Slemish), a well-known landmark

in Antrim, herded the cattle of his master Miliucc for six years. Professor Bury, in his recent work—*The Life of St. Patrick*—rejects this story altogether, principally because " the notices in both writers are characterized by legends—Miliucc's self-immolation, the footsteps of the angel, and the flames from Patrick's mouth." [5] And he regards the wood of Fochlad, far away in Connaught on the shores of the sea, near where Crochan Aigli, now Croagh Patrick, lifts up its lofty head to the skies, as the scene of the boy's captivity, chiefly because of the expression in the letter, " The Voice of the Irish," " We ask thee, holy boy, to come and walk with us *adhuc*," still or again.[6]

This view is also supported by the fact that Patrick had to travel two hundred miles—about the distance from Fochlad to Inverdea in Wicklow—before he reached the ship which he was told in a dream was ready.[7] But it is quite possible that Patrick may have been exchanged for another captive, or sent to Fochlad, where Gosacht, the son of Miliucc, may have lived with his foster parents. For in those days the custom of fosterage, that is, of bringing up the children of other people and sending one's own children to others, was greatly in vogue. This custom was condemned, with other Irish customs, by the Statute of Kilkenny (1367). Arriving at the port, he finds the ship of his dream ready to sail with a cargo of Irish greyhounds,[8] which were greatly valued on the Continent for their speed and strength. He offers his services, perhaps, in tending these dogs; but is sharply refused. He went back to the little inn where he was staying, praying as he went, and as he prayed a voice reached his ears, " Come quickly, for these men are calling you." He returned, and they asked him to become one of

them ;[9] but he refused. However, he remained and sailed with them, because he had hopes of their conversion to Christianity. Whence and whither they sailed we can only guess. The hunting dogs give us one possible clue. The destination of these would be most likely a port on the west coast of France, probably Brotgalum or Bordeaux. It would take at least three days for one of the trading vessels of those times to sail from Inverdea, or any other port on the east coast of Ireland, to Bordeaux.

The voyage lasted three days, and was uneventful. After landing, they wandered through a *desert* for eight and twenty days.[10] We know that some time previously (A.D. 406–409) the south-western parts of Gaul had been devastated and reduced to a desert [11] by the Sueves, Alans, and Vandals, before they marched over the Pyrenees into Spain. Consequently we find that Patrick and his companions are reduced to starvation. The shipmaster asks him to pray to his God, Who is " great and almighty," Patrick bids them turn to the Lord with faith, and the whole heart, and then, " with the help of God," a herd of swine appeared in their path," and from that day they had abundance of food. He then describes his awaking out of a nightmare, calling, " Helias, Helias " (Elias, Elias), just as the sun (*Helios*) rose in all its splendour. It would seem that Patrick shortly after this tried to leave this company, but that they detained him by force. This would be the second captivity [12] to which reference is made in c. 21. And the Divine response said to him : "For two months thou shalt be with them." And on the sixtieth day after, the Lord delivered him out of their hands.

Here follows a gap in the narrative. He does not

tell us whither he made his escape or how he spent the next years of his life. But the memoirs by Muirchu and Tírechán make up for this defect. The former (now in the *Book of Armagh*), composed by Muirchu maccu Machtheni, son of Cogitosus, author of St. Brigid's *Life*, with the help of Aed, Bishop of Slebte, who died A.D. 698, was "the first formal Life of St. Patrick." At the end [13] of this memoir, which is full of stories of the work in Ulster, we find a list of sayings attributed to Patrick, the so-called *Dicta Patricii*. Among these sayings this stands first: "I had the fear of God as the guide of my journey through the Gauls (*per Gallias*) and Italy, also in the islands which are in the Tyrrhenian Sea." The other memoir consists of rough notes by Tírechán, pupil of one Ultan, Bishop of Ardbraccan, who died A.D. 657, does not possess the literary style of Muirchu's, but supplies dates and geographical notes, chiefly of Patrick's work in Meath and Connaught, and was written in the interests of Armagh. Tírechán quotes this passage from a book in Ultan's possession: "When in his seventeenth year, he was captured, led away and sold in Ireland; in his twenty-second year he was able to give up the hard labour. Another seven years he wandered on land and sea, over hill and dale through Gaul and Italy, and the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea, as he himself has related in his work *In Commemoratione Laborum*."

There is, therefore, no fact outside the *Confession* and *Epistle* of St. Patrick so well supported as this, that he spent a portion of his life after his escape from the men with the hunting-dogs, in the isles of the Tyrrhenian Sea. Of these islands Lerinus (Lérins) had a celebrated monastery, and it was most probably there that he

found refuge. " After a few years," he tells us, he was again in Britain with his relations, who treated him like a son and besought him never to leave them. But the vision of Victoricus, a man he had probably known in Ireland, carrying among a bundle of letters one for him styled " The Voice of the Irish," and the entreaty of the people of Fochlad to return to them, which seemed to ring in his ears, urged him doubtless to return to Gaul and seek the necessary training and instruction from his former friends in that country.

But it was not until after many years that he was able to fulfil the request of the Irish and come to them. About A.D. 432, he was most probably consecrated by Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, who had succeeded Amator [14] in 418, for the mission in Ireland after the failure of Palladius. He seems to have returned home to Britain to see his friends and relations before taking up this great work, just as a missionary of our days would do. And it was during this visit to his old home that he was so distressed by the opposition of his enemies and by the tears of his friends.

As the leading events of the Saint's life have already been given, we may glance at his work in Ireland and mention some of the bishops and clergy whom he appointed to assist him in his mission. After landing at Inverdea, at the mouth of the Vartry river in Wicklow, he seems to have gone by sea to Inis Patrick, one of the Skerries, and having stayed a night there, he continued his cruise past the shores of what is now known as the County of Louth, but then as Conaille Muirthemni—where Cuchullin, the Ulster champion, slew Ferdia at the ford of the Dee, now called Ardee (*Ath-Fhirdia*)—until he reached Strangford Lough, where he landed. There his first convert was Dichu,

an historical personage. The story is that Patrick received from Dichu a plot of ground, and a barn in which to hold divine service, and the present Saul or Sabhall (Lat. *stabulum*, barn) marks the site of the Saint's first church, which faced north and south. Thence he pushed on past the great fort or Dun of Lethglasse, now Downpatrick, towards Mount Miss to Ballyligpatrick, where the legend is that Miliucc, his former master, on hearing of his approach and dreading his vengeance, set fire to his house and perished in the flames, but Gosacht, his son, received Patrick and joined his little band. In the neighbourhood of Saul two churches were planted, one at Brechtan (Bright), for Bishop Loarn, and the other at Rathcolpa (Raholp), for Tassach. This is the account in Muirchu's *Life*.

Tírechán, the other historian, describes Patrick as going in the first instance to Tara, after he had lit his first Easter fires on the hill of Slane. The interview with King Loigaire has already been related. The Saint was received in no unfriendly manner ; and made many converts among the princes and the Druids. Erc, whose charming stone hermitage near the church of Slane is still standing, was one of the first to welcome Patrick. The poet, Dubthach, is also said in one of the legends to have risen to greet him when he entered through the closed doors, and was most probably a convert. Dubthach's pupil Fíacc, who is said to have composed the ancient hymn *Genair Patraicc*, but which must have been of a much later age, was the first Bishop of Sletty. In the meantime, while Patrick was at Tara, his companion Lomman had sailed up the Boyne, and at the Ford of the Elder Tree (Ath-Truim), now Trim, by chance, or may be of set purpose, met Vortigern (Fortchernn), the son of Felim (Fedilmid), Loigaire's

son, whose wife was a Briton and perhaps a Christian. This interview was successful. The boy was baptized, and his father and mother handed him over to Lomman to be further instructed, and gave a donation of land to the Church. It is not improbable that Christianity had been brought to Trim before Patrick's arrival.

The parish of Dunshaughlin,[15] close to Tara, marks the church of Sechnali or Secundinus, a nephew of Patrick, who is said to have composed the first Latin hymn in Ireland. Its verses are very rude, and it may have been written during the lifetime of the Saint. In Donaghpatrick, near Navan, another church was founded, on land given by a convert, Conall, the brother of Loigaire. This was called the Great Church of Patrick. It was twenty yards in length.[16] A fine specimen of an earth-fort is said to mark the residence of Conall. But at Telltown,where Taillte, one of the Tuatha De Danann princesses lived, and where annual fairs and festivals were held on 1st August, Coirpre, the brother of Conall, attempted to take the life of the Saint ; and at Uisnech (Usnagh), where there used to be a stone called " the Stone of Coithrige " [17] (Patrick), MacFechach, a nephew of Coirpre, slew some of the Saint's companions, and a mighty curse—the ancient Celtic saints were rich in curses—was hurled upon the twain. According to Tírechán, who, having lived in Meath, naturally dwelt upon Patrick's work there, he travelled then towards the kingdom of the two Tethbias,[18] in the north-west of Meath, and appointed Mel first Bishop of Ardagh, and made Gosacht, said to be the son of Miliucc, and whom " he had nurtured in his captivity," Bishop of Rahan, which is the name of a parish in Meath near Tullamore.[19] From Tethbia, now Teffia, in West Meath, it is probable that Patrick

paid his memorable visit to the famous idol of the Irish, Crom Cruaich, in the plain of Slecht or Slaughter, near Ballymagauran in Cavan. From thence it would seem that he paid his long promised visit to the West, to which we may see an allusion in the *Confession*.[20] where he says that he penetrated to the extremities of the country where no missionary had ever been before him.

The district to which he now bent his steps was the land of Ailill, the modern barony of Tir-errill. When there, he priested Ailbe, and told him of a stone altar in the hills. Ailbe's church was at Senchua, now Shancoe. Aghanagh and Tawnagh (Tamnach), on the shores of Lough Arrow, were then founded by him; and at Cassel Ira, near the town of Sligo on the sea coast, he consecrated bishop his friend Bron, whose name is preserved in the name Killespugbrone, or Church of the Bishop Bron. He then entered the district to the north of Lough Conn, called Tirawley or the land (Tir) of Amolngaid, a name which has been found on a gravestone north of Killala. And after founding several churches, he at length came close up to the mountain Crochan Aigli, or Mount Egli, since called Croagh Patrick or Hill of Patrick, and built a church in the field of the spring (Achadh-fobuir), now Aghagower. There he is said to have remained forty days and nights in prayer upon this lonely mountain, where in after days superstition created a "Patrick's Purgatory."

He is said to have spent seven years in Connaught, and on his return journey to have founded Cell Mor (Great Church) near Kilmore, and a small community at the White Rock (Ailfinn), now Elphin, consisting of Assicus, a bishop and a skilled worker in bronze,

Hono, a rich Druid who had become a convert, and Biteus with his mother Cipia. Then the Saint paid his celebrated visit to Rathcrochan, the Fort of Croghan, in the plain of Ai, between Boyle and Elphin in Roscommon, where he met the daughters of Loigaire, Ethne and Fedelm, at the Fountain of Clebach, and spoke to them of the Father Who inspires and supports all things, Who kindles the sun and maketh the springs to well forth ; and of the Son coeternal with Himself, and of the Holy Spirit. After having put some questions to them, he baptized them and placed the white garment or chrisom upon them. They then asked to receive the Eucharist, and fell asleep in death.[21] There were also two Druid brothers, Mael, who had the Celtic, and Caplait,[22] who had the Roman tonsure. Baslic, called after the Roman churches, or Basilicae, was founded in the vicinity.

After the death of King Amolngaid, who died A.D. 445, some thirteen years after his arrival in Ireland, Patrick seems to have visited Connaught again in company with Endae, the son of that king, who had brought a dispute about his father's property to be settled by the King of Tara ; but Patrick advised that the property should be divided equally in seven parts, to each son a part. In the wilds of Fochlad and the plain of Dommon he built a large church and set up a cross, which gave the name of Crosspatrick to a barony near Killala.

After this work in Connaught, the Saint seems to have directed his steps to the old stronghold of the Picts, Eman or Navan, which had been built by Macha of the Golden Hair, and which had been the royal residence of Ulidia for some six centuries before it was destroyed by the Three Collas in A.D. 332. There

King Daire gave Patrick a plot of ground at the foot of the hill Ard Mache (the hill of Macha), now known as Armagh ; and afterwards another tract on the summit. The *Tripartite Life* gives an important account of this settlement. A circular space of one hundred and forty feet in diameter was surrounded by a rampart of earth, and in this enclosure wooden buildings were erected, the Great House being twenty-seven feet in diameter, the kitchen seventeen, and the oratory seven. It was thus, observes the Chronicler, that he always made the *Congbala*,[23] *i.e.* religious establishments. It was on that occasion that Patrick used the word *gratzacham* with some effect. When King Daire offered Patrick a handsome bronze cauldron, he simply said *Gratzacham* [24] or " Thanks." King Daire was annoyed, and sent to have it taken away. Again Patrick said *Gratzacham*. " It is a good word," said Daire, " and for his *gratzacham* he shall keep the cauldron."

It was perhaps owing to the friendship and influence of Daire that Armagh became the centre of St. Patrick's mission and consequently the ecclesiastical capital of Ireland. According to Irish annals, Armagh was founded in A.D. 444.[25] Patrick is also said to have worked in the north of Ireland ; his name being associated with Ard-patrick, Clogher in Tyrone, Dunseveric in the townland of Feigh, so called from the green plot (faitche) of the Dun, on the northern shore of Antrim, Glenavy near Lough Neagh, and Glore. There is some doubt about the work ascribed to him in Leinster and Munster, where other missionaries had been and were engaged in preaching the Gospel. His two companions, Iserninus and Auxilius, are said to have founded churches in Leinster. Iserninus was an Irishman named Fith, and it is suggested, but wrongly,

that the name Fith is perpetuated in Aghade (Ath-fade, long ford), a crossing place on the river Slaney, where Crimthann, the chief of the Cennsalach (=Kinselagh) tribe was baptized. Tírechán states that both Auxilius and Iserninus were consecrated by Patrick at Kilcullen in Kildare. The *Tripartite Life* says that he "left Auxilius at Killossy" (Killishea), a place near Naas which was called after Auxilius. Another follower of Patrick, Fíacc, son of the poet Dubthach, is said to have been consecrated by him for Slebte, a mile to the north of Carlow, where Muirchu, the biographer of Patrick, lived in the seventh century. Patrick's connection with the South of Ireland and the Rock of Cashel, where he is said to have accidentally pierced the foot of King Ængus when baptizing him, rests on a weaker foundation than that rock. It seems more probable that these districts were evangelized by other saints, although Patrick may have, as it is reported of him, passed through Ossory and Muskerry.

This is but a brief sketch of the life-work of Patrick in Ireland, from which, however, we can learn how arduous a position that of bishop was in those days, and how much activity and zeal was required in men who devoted themselves to missionary labours.

[1] The Latin runs "qui fuit vico Banavem Taberniae. Villulam enim prope habuit." The Armagh MS. which doubles letters frequently has Bannavem. I would suggest that this stands for Bonae Tabernae. We have such places as Tabernae, Taberna Frigida, Tres Tabernae, and Bonae Fortunae. But it would be absurd to have a Roman vicus called by a hybrid name part Brythonic, part Latin. The *avem* would be due to the influence of the following enim. Another explanation would be that the expression Bannavem Taberniae would be parallel to a form used here. Parsonstown Birr, the English name followed by the ancient Irish.

[2] P. 133.

[3] *Early Irish Missions*, p. 18.

[4] Olden, *History of the Church of Ireland*, p. 414, H. and S., i. 24, iii. 307.

[5] P. 335.

[6] See *C.*, 21.

[7] *C.*, 17.

[8] Arrian gives a description of the Celtic hunting dogs in his treatise, and Martial has a pretty epigram (xiv., 200) upon the *vertagus* or Celtic hound, its keenness and intelligence. There were three special types of Irish dogs. The largest of these, the *Cu*, was the wolfhound, it stood three feet at the shoulder and was five feet long. In the Kildare Museum a fine specimen is shown.

[9] = Join their band. *Sugere mammellas* (*C.*, 18) means some primitive form of adoption; cf. the Blood Brotherhood and the Hindu ceremony of adoption.

[10] *C.*, 22.

[11] Jerome, writing A.D. 411, mentions the devastation of Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Narbonensis, three great districts in Gaul, and the sacking of Mainz and Rheims. Orientius and Salvian tell the same story. We assume that Patrick was born about 387, being forty-five years old when he came as Bishop in 432. He says he committed some sin when about fifteen years old, and that it was raked up against him thirty years after. He was six years in captivity. (*Conf.*, 27.)

[12] In the *Guardian* (November 20th, 1901), Professor Bury has pointed out among the many blunders and indiscretions of Muirchu's *Life* of St. Patrick the misinterpretation of his words—"And a second time after many years I became a captive," which are distinctly a parenthesis in the narrative, and simply means that his treatment by the sailors was like a second captivity, not that he was taken prisoner a second time.

[13] These sayings do not really belong to Muirchu's memoir, but to Tírechán's. They occur in the *Book of Armagh* between the two. The scribe Ferdomnach inserted them at the beginning of Tírechán's memoir. (See Bury, p. 229; and Dr. Gwynn's edition of the *Book of Armagh*.)

[14] The account given in Muirchu's *Life* is that Patrick was consecrated by a Bishop Amatorex, *aepiscopum Amatho rege*. This was probably meant for Amator, who is styled a *rex episcopus* —a king-bishop, like Cormac, King and Bishop of Cashel. He appears as Amatho ri Románach (King of the Romans) in *Tripartite Life* (p. 34). Zimmer (*Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 123, n.) points out that *Amatorig* is the Irish dative of a form Amatore. This might be the origin of the form of the name Amatorex, instead of Amator. But as Amator died in 416, he could not have consecrated Patrick in 432. See note 4, chapter on Germanus for my explanation of this curious expression.

[15] Or Domnach Sechnaill, "the Church of Sechnall."

[16] That of St. Pirian in Cornwall was 29 feet long, 16 wide, and 19 high. The small stone churches or Daimhliags, such as the church on Ireland's Eye, Tempull Ceannanach on the Arran Isles (Inishmaan), and that of SS. MacDara off Connemara (15

feet by 11), are said to have been built according to the size and plan ordered by St. Patrick.

[17] Stokes, *Celtic Church*, p. 84.

[18] The name of Patrick as borrowed from the British; from the Latin the Irish gets Patraicc.

[19] Professor Bury (*Life of St. Patrick*, p. 122) contends that this Cell Raithen, which Patrick is said to have pointed out "from the hill of Graneret," afterwards grew into the town of Granard.

[20] Chaps. 51 and 53.

[21] The story is given by Tírechán. There is probably some foundation for it, but the dialogue is artificial and the facts embroidered. The connexion of *two* brothers, Mael and Caplait, seems also fictitious, and invented to account for some fact or to advance some theory.

[22] The story implies distinction of tonsures, and gave rise to the proverb, "Cosmail Mael do Chaplait" (*Tripartite Life*, p. 104), *i.e.* Mael is like to Caplait. The native tonsure survived the foreign one, Mael meaning bald in Irish, and Caplait being *capillatus*, or shorn, in Latin.

[23] For an interesting discussion on this word, which is perpetuated in the names Conwal and Nohoval. See Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*, p. 25.

[24] A corrupt form of *gratias agimus*.

[25] Todd (*St. Patrick*, p. 470) rejects the date 457, which was got by following the notice of the foundation of Trim in the *Additions* to Tírechán, A.D. 432, "in the twenty-fifth year before the foundation of Armagh," as too late. Bury (*St. Patrick*, p. 308) suggests the possibility of a pre-Patrician foundation at Trim.

CHAPTER V.

PATRICIAN PROBLEMS.

CERTAIN theories regarding Patrick and his mission put forward in authoritative quarters, and to some extent accepted, press for examination.

In the first place, Patrick has been identified by Zimmer with Palladius,[1] for the reasons that Bede, who died 735, did not mention Patrick, although he refers to the mission of Palladius in his *Church History*;[2] that the note of the *Confession* is failure; and that Palladius was also called Patricius. Professor Bury has shown the weakness of the argument from silence, and does not attach importance to the paragraph at the end of Tírechán's memoir which was apparently added by Ferdomnach the ninth century scribe of the *Book of Armagh*, and which states that "Palladius, *whose other name was Patricius*, is sent at first. He suffered martyrdom among the Irish, as some early saints relate, and then Patrick the Second (or as the Second) is sent by an Angel of God, Victor by name, and by Pope Celestine."

Considerable confusion has been caused by this passage, from which many have inferred that there were two Patricks, Sen Patrick, the elder,[3] and Patrick the Apostle of Ireland. Sen Patrick, as we have seen, is said to have been connected with Glastonbury. It

is quite possible that there were two Patricks, one the better known Patrick whose day was the 17th March, and the other, a lesser known Patrick whose day was August 24. The duplication of Patrick might, however, be due, as Professor Bury points out, to the two dates for his death, the true date 461, and the wrong date 493, which may have led in the eighth century to the belief in a second Patricius. Yet why should there not have been two Patricks as there were two Kiarans, one of Ossory, and the other of Clonmacnoise? As regards the identification of Palladius and Patricius, so ingeniously worked out by Professor Zimmer,[4] it is strongly opposed by the facts, (1) that in the oldest *Life* of the Saint Patricius and Palladius are quite distinct persons, and (2) that Palladius visited Rome and was sent by Pope Celestine to Ireland, whereas Patrick, as Muirchu tells us, did not go to Rome, but stayed at Auxerre, where he found Germanus and sat at his feet for a considerable time, about thirty years.[5] It is remarkable that the mission of Palladius who was sent by Celestine which was a failure, is recorded by the Roman authorities; while the oldest Irish authorities who describe the deeds of Patrick make no mention of Palladius.

The second theory to be examined is Professor Bury's contention that Patrick did go from Ireland to visit Pope Leo at Rome. The authority for this journey is a statement in the *Life* of St. Patrick, by Probus, which the Rev. E. Hogan, S.J., described only as "a more elegant edition," of Muirchu's memoir, with additional details regarding the Roman mission taken from Tírechán. With regard to Muirchu's memoir, it should be pointed out that it is a greatly exaggerated account of the Saint's life as described in

his own *Confession*. Patrick did no miracles in the *Confession*, but he performs many in Muirchu's memoir. Other differences too, notably the conversion of the Victoricus, the *man* in the *Confession*, into the mission of the Angel Victor in the latter memoir, make us hesitate to accept Muirchu as a reliable authority on any questionable point. The statement in Tírechán, from which Probus borrowed, is somewhat inconsistent with the *Confession* of St. Patrick, in which he states that he never left the country after he had commenced his work there. However much he longed to go to Britain to see his relations, and to Gaul to see his brethren (*Conf.*, 43). He never expressed any desire to visit Rome. Tírechán says, "he (Sachellus) went away with Patrick to study *thirty* years, and he ordained him in the city of Rome and gave him the name of Sachellus, and wrote for him the book of the Psalms which I saw, and he (Sachellus) carried from him part of the relics of Peter and Paul, Laurence and Stephen which are in Armagh." Professor Bury admits that there is an error in the "thirty years." And that error, joined with the fact that Patrick never spoke of relics in his extant works, is sufficiently serious to make the whole statement unworthy of credence, even if we could believe that Patrick exercised the office of a Bishop in Rome, the province of another bishop. For that would have been a distinct usurpation of authority, directly contrary to the 22nd Canon of Antioch, A.D. 341, which appears as No. 30 in the so-called *Hibernensis*, a collection of Irish canons made in the eighth century, and was to the effect that no Bishop might invade another's diocese or ordain without the other's permission. It is quite possible that Patrick sent his friend Sachellus to Rome

to study. But Muirchu, who could have made excellent use of this visit for his purpose of bringing the North of Ireland into line with Rome in the keeping of Easter, as the South had recently been brought,[6] says nothing of it. In fact, his evidence is against it. For he describes Patrick as going on a journey to Rome which was broken at Auxerre, where he studied with Germanus for a considerable time. Then, after receiving visits from an angel, Victor, he proceeded on his journey (*coeptum ingreditur iter*), but hearing of the death of Palladius, he with his companions turned aside from their journey (*declinaverunt iter*) to be ordained by a venerable bishop. Again, Secundinus (St. Sechnall), the friend of Patrick, assuming that he was the author of the famous hymn, does not mention Rome, but states that "he (Patrick) derived his apostolate from God," and that "Christ chose him as His Vicar on earth," and that "he was a faithful witness of God in the Catholic law."[7] With regard to the statement in the Ulster Annals that "Leo was ordained bishop of the Roman Church and Patrick was approved in the Catholic faith," it does not even suggest a visit to Rome. At the most it can only mean that Leo approved of the teaching of Patrick. Catholic did not and does not mean Roman, but orthodox. Patrick himself says, "I had been taught by Christ, my Lord, and my faith was approved in the sight of God and man (fides probata, *Conf.*, 30).[8] The same Annals, in a note under A.D. 443, which describes Patrick as "abounding in the ardour of the faith and the *doctrine of Christ*," supply the interpretation of the passage. The Annals of Innisfallen also have the same expression, "Patrick flourished in the doctrine of Christ." And who is to say that the

note was not inserted by Cathal Macmanus, the compiler of the Annals, who died in 1498? And if other annalists, O'Clery and his associates, the "Four Masters," as Dr. MacCarthy alleges,[9] tampered with their text, we cannot attach much importance to this statement in the Ulster Annals, however faithful a scribe Macmanus may have been, especially as the only trustworthy evidence, that of the *Confession*, is quite in the opposite direction. For Patrick never mentioned, much less appealed, to the authority of the Roman Bishop in that work, where it might have been used with effect against the opponents of his mission, that is, of course, if they thought anything of that authority. Professor Bury relies upon an ancient canon in the Hibernensis [10] to the effect that if any difficult questions should arise in the island, they should be referred to the Apostolic See. But this very canon gives us the picture of a Church in a greater stage of progress and organization than that of the days of Patrick. It suggests a time of debate and conflict, such as arose in the seventh century, not with the pagan Irish, but among the Christians themselves. The period to which it seems naturally to belong is that of the seventh and eighth centuries, when strong efforts were being made by Rome and the Roman party in Ireland to bring the Irish Church into line in the matters of baptism, consecration, Easter and tonsure. If this canon were known to Cummian in 633 he missed a great opportunity. For in that year he wrote to Segene of Hy, urging him to adopt the Roman Easter. This letter is found in Ussher's *Sylloge*, or "Collection of Ancient Irish Letters." It shows remarkable learning and research, quoting the Old Testament, New Testament, the Synods of Nicaea, Arles and

Caesarea, and the opinions of Jerome and Cyprian on "the unity of the Church." But there is absolutely no mention of this canon, which would come in with great force at the conclusion, and Cummian, who refers in another place to "Patrick our pope," would hardly have failed to quote a canon by Patrick if he knew of it, which in this case means if it existed. This omission was a notable one under the circumstances.

The fact that this canon is also found in the "Book of the Angel," [11] in the *Book of Armagh*, in which an Angel puts forward the claims of the Church of Armagh, and which is described by Professor Zimmer as "a piece of deliberate invention," and by Professor Bury as "a clumsy invention fabricated at Armagh," is sufficient to make us regard it as equally authentic as the other statement that Patrick converted the Danes, who did not appear in Ireland until the end of the eighth century.

Our attitude towards this canon or any other referring to papal authority in those remote ages is not one of unreasoned hostility. The present status of the Church of Ireland is not in the least affected, even if it had received the truth in the first instance from Rome. For that fact, which is far from being proved, could not mean that it is bound to hold to-day doctrines, of which the Church of Rome of that day knew little or nothing, and against which it will ever protest. And if Patrick did profess a special regard and respect for the Church of Rome of his day, he would have many [12] with him, and among them the great Ussher, who writes: "So reverend an estimation have I of the integrity of that Church as it stood in those good days." For it was then the greatest, the most popular and the most orthodox of the Churches on the

debated subjects of the day, the Arian and Pelagian controversies. And we can join in the respect paid to her memory for her ancient labours, faith and hospitality without committing ourselves to the errors and pretensions which afterwards sullied her fair fame. Nor would the respect of St. Patrick for the Church of Rome of his day compel us to believe " that St. Patrick was of the opinion that the Church of Rome was sure ever afterwards to continue in that good estate, and that there was a perpetual privilege annexed unto that see, that it would never err in judgment or that the Pope's sentences were always to be held as infallible oracles." [13] The Irish people, who profess the Roman faith, have often since resented the claims and encroachments of that apostolic see, proving the most refractory subjects the Pope ever had, and frequently disregarding his Pastorals with an independence worthy of their island home.

Patrick died (A.D. 461) and was buried at Saul, where he may have written his *Confession*. Both Armagh and Downpatrick lay claim to be his burial place, and are said to have contended for the honour of possessing his body. The legends of the waggon drawn by two oxen and of the angelic appearance were invented to settle the dispute. With regard to his place in the history of Ireland and its Church there are conflicting opinions. By some he is regarded as the founder of the faith in Ireland, and by others, Zimmer for example, as a comparative failure and a much over-rated person. A view that would hold the mean between the extremes would be perhaps the truest. While there can be no doubt that there were religious communities before his day in Ireland, he seems to have been the founder of the Celtic monastic system

and the inspirer of its missionary zeal. But his own personal work has suffered both from the absurd exaggerations of his admirers, which has given a mythical character to his life and labours, and from comparison with the better known and authenticated labours of the great Irishman, Columba or Columbcille, the Apostle of Scotland. It is also possible that the relapse following his death which necessitated the Welsh Mission of Gildas and David (*C.*, 565) caused his name to pass into oblivion for a time. His name appears after many years in a letter of Cummian's concerning the Paschal cycle (*C.*, 633).

Patrick may have introduced the Latin language into Ireland, and perhaps a reverence for the Roman empire. But the independent spirit of the Irish saints who succeeded him, men like Colman of Lindisfarne, who would have nought to say to foreign ways, may also account for the fact that his work was practically forgotten until Muirchu and Tírechán in the seventh century related his life partly from written sources, partly from hearsay and tradition, for the purpose of exalting Armagh or of bringing Ireland into conformity with Roman use. This unconcealed motive of these biographers does not add to the value of their work as history, and compels us to go back to the *Confession* and *Epistle*, the oldest documents in British history, where we find the real Patrick, a man of flesh and blood like ourselves, who did no miracles, who did not mention Rome or its Bishop, but who was an ardent follower of the Master, and was a man of little culture but of much love.

With regard then to the alleged mission of St. Patrick from Rome, it is remarkable that the earliest written records of St. Patrick, the Hymn of Fíacc, his

pupil, and the Hymn of St. Sechnall, his friend, and even the memoir written by Muirchu are silent on the subject. In the Hymn of Fíacc "an angel sent Patrick across all Britain." In the Hymn of Sechnall, "he obtained his apostleship from God." The notes of Tírechán and the scholia of St. Fíacc's Hymn are the earliest authority for this mission. Regarding these additional notes Prof. Bury says the paragraph containing them cannot carry any weight. He agrees with Dr. Gwynn, who contends that these notes were added by Ferdomnach, the ninth century scribe of the *Book of Armagh*. On the other hand, Tírechán himself says at the beginning of his second book that "God *through the angel of the Lord* gave the whole island and its inhabitants to Patrick. To be true to St. Patrick and his own pupils we cannot therefore believe either that he was sent from Rome to Ireland or that he was connected in any way with the Church of Rome in those days. While of the leading and distinctive doctrines of the modern Roman Church, the worship of the Virgin, Invocation of Saints, Purgatory and Transubstantiation, there is absolutely no trace whatever in his extant writings.

In conclusion, there is nothing in the Life of St. Patrick to show an "immeasurable reverence for Rome,"[14] or for the Bishop of Rome, "as representing the unity of the Church," of which Prof. Bury speaks. The Roman Empire had long impressed the western peoples, but it is not evident that the Church of Rome was regarded in 432 A.D. as possessing authority to dictate its views to all on Christian law and doctrine. In 382 Ambrose of Milan, not the Bishop of Rome, presided over a council of Italian bishops and sent a letter to Theodosius from "Ambrose and the other

bishops of Italy." It was to Ambrose not to the Bishop of Rome that episcopal announcements were made. For many years, Platina,[15] a Roman historian, tells us, the Milan archdiocese withdrew from Communion with Rome. But the latter church was advancing gradually to greater power. Its ambitious interference met, however, with many rebuffs. In 417 Zosimus was censured by the African Church for his support of Pelagianism. In 429, Leo I. wrote to that Church regarding the priest Apiarius whom Zosimus had befriended, but whom they had deposed. The reply was, "Our African Church retains its right to decide the causes of its own members. In 444 he interfered with a Gallic Metropolitan, Hilary of Arles, in the discharge of his duties without success. But in 445 he astutely procured for the weakminded Valentinian a rescript[16] which granted him his heart's desire. However, it did not have the effect intended in Ireland at any rate. Cummian, in his letter to Segene (633), called Patrick "our Pope," and referred to Rome as on a level with, not as superior to Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. In the *Life* of St. Columba of Iona there is no mention of a letter from a Roman bishop, and no acknowledgment of the Pope's authority. Columbanus reproved Gregory the Great for allowing himself to support "the dark Paschal system." The same Gregory (594) rejected the title of "Universal Bishop" as blasphemous, while the Church of Aquileia rejected him.[17]

[1] *Early Celtic Church*, p. 38.

[2] But his *Martyrology* under March 17 mentions the confession of St. Patrick in Ireland.

[3] In the Calendar of Oengus he is mentioned under August 24, "Sen Patrick, champion of battle." In the *Chronicon Scotorum*, under A.D. 457, "Sen Patrick, bishop, falls asleep" (at Glastonbury). See Olden, *Church of Ireland*, Appendix A, p. 414.

[4] He says that *Succat*, Patrick's British name, given by both Muirchu and Tírechán, meant *warlike* in Irish, the same as Palladius (p. 38); and that Succat, to impress the Irish with his importance and his aristocratic birth, took the title Patricius or Gentleman, which first appeared in Irish in the form Cothrige, Tírechán, for example, quoting the place names *Petra Coithrigi* in Meath, and *Petra Coithrigi* in Cashel. But "*Patrick first appears in the eighth century as the popular name for Patricius*" (p. 41). Another name for Patrick was Magonus (Maun).

[5] The leaf containing this passage is missing from the *Book of Armagh*. The Brussels MS. of Muirchu's *Life* is, however, complete.

[6] According to an old document, the "Law of Adamnan," both Muirchu and Aedh attended the Synod of Adamnan (A.D. 697), which made the North conform, as the South had previously done (A.D. 634).

[7] Tillemont says, "He was not ordained at Rome by Celestine" (p. 783).

> Cujusque Apostolatum a Deo sortitus est,
> Testis Domini fidelis in lege Catholica,
> Christus illum sibi elegit in terris Vicarium.

[8] The ancient *Catalogue of Irish Saints* (Ussher, *Antiquitates*, cxvii., p. 473), says, "the first order of the Catholic Saints was in the time of Patrick"; they had *one Head, Christ, one leader, Patrick*, one service, one celebration, one tonsure (from ear to ear, *i.e.* the Celtic not the Roman). Catholic meant orthodox in those days. Constantius, in his *Life of Germanus*, describes the British deputation asking assistance for the "fides Catholica" in Britain just one hundred and seventy years before Augustine's Roman Mission. Similarly there were Catholics in Ireland before there were Roman Catholics.

[9] *Rolls Series*, IV., p. 9.

[10] *Op. cit.*, pp. 369, *et seq.*, 20, 5, b. The *Hibernensis* is a collection of Canons of the Irish Church compiled in the seventh and eighth centuries, and among them is a circular letter attributed to Patrick and his friends Auxilius and Iserninus. Todd objects that these Canons imply a greater advance in diocesan organization than the age would warrant. One of the Canons suggests that a bishop had a defined diocese or *paruchia*, and that he could not perform episcopal acts without permission of the *princeps* (presiding bishop). And it is strange to find these Canons (Lib. I. cc. 4, 5) insisting on the necessity of having *three* bishops to consecrate, when Patrick was himself consecrated by one bishop, and never seems to have had any other bishop to help him in his consecrations. The *motive* of these Canons, to bring the Celtic Church into line with the Roman, is but too apparent.

[11] The *Book of the Angel* is certainly a "far cry" from the *Confession* of St. Patrick. It was composed in Armagh in the eighth century in the interests of Armagh. It consists of two parts, the Colloquy with the Angel and the Decrees concerning the rights of Armagh. Among these Decrees it is stated that it was the decree of Auxilius Patricius and Secundinus that every difficult case should

be referred to Armagh, the seat of the Archbishop of the Irish, that is Patrick. If Armagh could not settle it, it was to be referred to the Apostolic chair of Peter.

[12] Irenaeus, writing at the end of the second century, speaks in the highest terms of the Church of Rome of those days, stating that every Church must turn to Rome to have its orthodoxy tested, and that it has a "*potentior principalitas*." Prof. Harnack (*History of Dogma*, Eng. Trans. ii. 157) takes this as meaning sovereign authority (*αὐθεντία*), but the words seem to imply precedence and influence rather than right to rule and dictate. In his letter to Victor Irenaeus writes as an equal, not as an inferior, and in iii. 12, 5, he describes the Church of Jerusalem as "the metropolis of the citizens of the New Testament," and Columbanus in his letters to the Pope, in which he advises him for his own good, gives honour to the Bishops of Rome, but reserves the highest praise for Jerusalem. See *Irenaeus of Lugdunum* (Cambridge Press), by present writer, p. 252.

[13] Ussher's *Works*, iv., 331.

[14] *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 343, and 9, 65.

[15] *Lives of the Popes*.

[16] "Whatever the authority of the Apostolic seat shall sanction shall be law for the Gallic bishops and for all." Presence at his tribunal was also to be enforced, if necessary, by the ruler of the same province.

[17] Epistle V.

PART II.

THE GALLIC FRIENDS OF ST. PATRICK.

CHAPTER I.

MARTIN OF TOURS AND PATRICK OF IRELAND.

IN this portion of the book which deals with the contemporaries and companions of Patrick we must begin with Martin of Tours, with whom he has been long associated by the voice of tradition. Indeed, St. Patrick of Ireland reminds one, perhaps, more of St. Martin of Tours than of any other saint. Martin's character and life are described by his friend and biographer, Sulpicius Severus, who had renounced his wealth and the world to go and sit at Martin's feet. The biography, dialogue, and epistles of Sulpicius are authority for his friend's doings. Whether Martin was fortunate in his biographer or not is a question we cannot decide. Sulpicius had a facile pen, greatly praised by Gibbon, and wonderfully descriptive powers, and succeeded in making the subject of his memoirs well known throughout the world. Martin's fame as a worker of miracles is founded altogether on the evidence of Sulpicius, who said, "I would prefer to be silent than to speak falsely." It is possible that the humble-minded and illiterate Martin might have

preferred that he had been silent, than that he should ascribe to him such works. There can be no doubt, however, that Martin exercised a considerable personal influence over those with whom he came in contact, but we can hardly believe that he looked upon himself as gifted with extraordinary powers. As Dr. Gwynn remarks in his edition of the *Book of Armagh:* "Even the reader who is not prepared to accept his details of supernatural incidents, will feel that the apostolical virtues and graces which men saw in Martin's daily life naturally predisposed them to see him in the halo of apostolic gifts and powers over nature with which the enthusiasm of his disciples has surrounded his person."

There must have been some foundation for the manner in which his name is connected with Patrick's in the early Celtic Church. It is remarkable that the great Irish book, the *Book of Armagh*, contains, besides the New Testament and the Patrician documents, the *Confession*, the *Life* by Muirchu, and Tírechán's *Memoir*, etc., the *Life of St. Martin* by Sulpicius.* The name of this scribe, Ferdomnach, which was erased at the end of the *Confession*, and in other places, in order to make it appear that, in agreement with the colophon at the end of the *Confession*, "Thus far the book which Patrick wrote with his own hand," Patrick had written it himself, was cleverly recovered. It was not completely erased at the end of this *Life* of Martin, where the words "Pro Ferdomnacho ores" have been deciphered. Accordingly, Bishop Graves was led to his well-known solution of the lines partially erased

* In a long and careful account of the MSS. of Sulpicius' *Life of Martin*, inserted in Dr. Gwynn's Edition of the *Book of Armagh*, Professor Babut (Montpellier University) shows from internal evidence that the text of Sulpicius in the *Book of Armagh* is of the highest importance.

at the end of St. Matthew (fol. 53a), in this *Book of Armagh*:

. . . . . ach hunc
. . . . . m . . . e dictante
. . . . . ach haerede Pat
ricii scripsit ;

which read, according to his restoration : [1]

F domnach hunc lib
E rum . . . e dictante
R Torbach herede Pat
ricii scripsit ;

meaning that Ferdomnach wrote this book at the dictation of, that is, under the supervision, or by the direction of Torbach, a successor of Patrick, *heres* representing the Irish co-arb (camharba), or fellow-heir with Patrick. In the *Vita Tertia* (ninth century) of Colgan—written, as Professor Bury, judging from its Brythonic (Welsh or Cornish) interpolations, maintains, in West Britain—there is an interpolation in C. 21, describing a visit of Patrick to Martin, and containing a reference to the "insula Tamarensis," which Mr. C. T. Bates identified with the Island of St. Nicholas at the mouth of the Tamar, in Plymouth Sound.[2]

In the *Life* of St. Patrick known as the *Vita Quinta*, by one Probus, a much later document, supposed to have been compiled by Coenachair of the Old Abbey of Slane destroyed by Northmen (948), Patrick is said to have gone to Martin, who tonsured him before he visited Germanus. Jocelyn (twelfth century) gives us

more details. He tells an interesting, but purely imaginative, story of Concessa, a niece of Martin, who was sold as a slave in Britain and bought by Calpurnius, the father of Patrick, who made her his lawful wife.

We have no means of proving or disproving the relationship of Patrick to Martin. There is a difficulty regarding the alleged visit. Martin's death is generally dated in 401, but it is possible that he survived to 404. See Dr. Gwynn's Edition of the *Book of Armagh* (p. cclxiv). And if Patrick was born about 387, which would leave him 45 when consecrated in 432, he would have been only 16 when Martin died. According to his own *Confession* he was taken captive in his fifteenth year and only escaped after six years, in his 21st year. So that he could not have seen Martin if this chronology is correct. If, however, Ussher's date of Patrick's birth, 372, is correct, such a visit would have been quite possible.

But apart from this personal connection there are many interesting parallels between the life of Martin, as related by Severus, and the life of Patrick, as recorded by himself, which may have had some influence in connecting their names together in the manner described above. Martin, who was chiefly known to fame as the Roman officer who divided his military cloak with a beggar, was trained for some time (about 356), by Hilary of Poictiers a champion of the Nicene faith against Arianism. His character was summed up by his biographer in words that might have been written of our national saint. "O man, truly blessed," wrote Severus,[3] "in whom there was no guile: judging no man, condemning no man, returning to no man evil for evil. So patient was he under all injuries, that

even when he was bishop he was with impunity injured by the lowest of the clergy: nor did he ever depose them for the wrongs they did him, nor even, so far as lay in himself, repel them from his affection. . . . He was always one, and the same, showing a heavenly joy in his countenance. Never was anything on his lips but Christ, never anything in his heart but piety, peace and pity. Often did he weep for the sins even of his detractors, who when he was quiet and absent attacked him with viperous lips and vitriolic tongues. Many hated him for virtues which they did not possess and could not imitate." One of his greatest enemies was his deacon Bricio, who assailed him openly with opprobrious epithets, declaring that he was a holier man than Martin because the latter had been a soldier and he had always been a monk. Martin treated the young man with great forbearance and wisdom and said to his monks, who wished him to degrade Bricio, "If Christ suffered Judas, why should I not suffer Bricio?"

Patrick, likewise, was patient under all injuries. And he had many enemies and detractors. One of these had done him a most cruel wrong and betrayed a confidence made when Patrick was anxious about his soul. Patrick simply says, "I grieve the more for my dearest friend." [4] When he was attacked in consequence of that betrayal by many of his seniors in Britain, and opposition was organized against his mission to Ireland, he thanks God that they did not succeed in ruining his career, and prays that it may not be reckoned to them as a sin.[5] The open letter he sent concerning Coroticus concludes with words in which all personal wrongs are forgotten, all condemnation of past sins is silenced, and the kindly hope is

expressed that Coroticus and his men "may repent of their evil deeds, may release the baptized women, may deserve to live to God, and may be made whole, here and in eternity."[6]

Patrick was aware of his own deficiencies. He, doubtless, exaggerated them. He refers frequently to the fact that he is an illiterate sinner. He speaks of his insignificance, his infidelity, his ignorance, his folly, his negligence, his want of experience and skill, but he also speaks of his grace.[7] He says that he is "*contemptible;*"[8] that he is contemned by certain;[9] that he is envied and greatly despised,[10] but his anxiety is altogether for his people, his flock. He is absolutely without a thought of self. His only desire regarding himself is that he may die with those who are strangers and captives for Christ's Name's sake, even though he may lack Christian burial.[11] He prays for perseverance, and that he may never lose the people God entrusted to him.[12]

Martin was also greatly opposed by the clergy. His chronicler writes: "They impiously resisted him, saying, forsooth, that he was a *contemptible* person, a man of an appearance to be despised, mean in his dress, with untidy hair."[13] He was like Patrick in this, that poverty and trouble suited him better than riches and luxury, because our Lord Christ was poor for us.[14]

Again, of Patrick it might be truthfully said, as it was of Martin, that "Never was anything on his lips but Christ; never anything in his heart but piety, peace, and pity." The whole *Confession* is full of the Lord's grace, the Lord's mercy, and the Lord's pity and love for himself and all sinners. It was the *caritas Christi*, the love or dearness of Christ that sent him to a nation to serve them in humility and in truth.[15]

For the *caritas Christi*, the love of Christ, he would have held his peace when his own person was vilified and slandered, but that he felt it was wrong that the gift of God to him should be slighted.[16] His strongest denunciation of the raiders is that they are far from that "love of God."[17] His highest boast is that he is a servant in Christ (*servus in Christo*) to a foreign nation,[18] an epistle of Christ, not eloquent, but very powerful, to the ends of the earth.[19] In fact, the whole outlook, tendency, and thought of his soul might be expressed in the words of the old *Lorica*, or Breastplate hymn, which many scholars still attribute to Patrick:

> "Christ with me, Christ before me,
> Christ behind me, Christ within me,
> Christ beneath me, Christ above me,
> Christ at my right, Christ at my left,
> Christ in breadth, Christ in length, Christ in height."

Through the *pity* of God he himself has been raised as a stone from the mire, and set upon the top of the wall.[20] It was the godly pity proceeding from Christ to him, he says, that made him devote himself and his life to the saving of the people who had ruined his earthly home and enslaved him and his people.[21] The atmosphere of the *Confession* is one of devotion and piety. And the concluding words of the open letter are a solemn benediction of peace: "*Pax Patri, et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.* Amen."

Martin and Patrick were not only alike in their character; they were of the same spiritual and intensely religious nature. Martin was a firm believer in prayer. Prayer was his chief weapon. It made him as fearless in the presence of the Emperor Valentinian and of Maximus the usurper, as when the robber's

sword was at his throat. It is said of him that he was always praying, even when seemingly otherwise engaged. Patrick was also given to constant prayer. His soul may be described as the home of prayer. The captive boy herding swine on Mount Slemish in autumn and in the woods around, rising before dawn, and making his way forth, hail, rain, or snow (*per nivem, per gelu, per pluviam*), to say his prayers to God, up to a hundred by day, and the same number by night,[22] is a picture modern Christianity cannot afford to let die. Again, when he had been turned away by the master of the ship, and was going back to the poor little inn where he was staying, he prayed.[23] Again, he prayed for food for himself and his starving companions.[24] All his prayers were answered in a remarkable way. He ascribes his own deliverance from captivity to his habit of prayer.[25] The words, "Thou fastest well; behold, thou art quickly to return to thy native land," seemed to be uttered in his ears. And after a little time another word was heard: "Behold, thy ship is ready." And while he was praying on his way back to the inn, before he could finish his prayer, the ship-master had shouted after him and told him that his mates were calling him back; [26] and in answer to the prayer he had made at the request of the starving sailors, a herd of swine came into their road.

Again, Martin had visions of the most marvellous kind. He himself was quite convinced of their reality. He believed that he was specially and directly inspired by the Holy Spirit, and that he had visits of angels and of saints. The young cleric Bricio,* who insulted

* Bricio succeeded Martin as Bishop of Tours, but was pursued by the party of Martin with such unrelenting hostility that he was expelled about 430. The passage in the *Dialogue* which relates the

Martin in every possible way, reproached him with falling into dotage through his "foolish superstitions and ridiculous visions and appearances, which were pure ravings." Some of these visions were very remarkable. The devil frequently appeared to Martin to tempt, defy, and deceive him. On one occasion, when the devil seemed to argue on behalf of the Montanist view that there was no mercy for those who fell into mortal sin after baptism, Martin, perhaps remembering his Origen, cried out, "Even if thou, miserable creature, shouldst abstain from persecuting men and even now shouldst repent of thy evil deeds, I would promise thee compassion with Christ," words that recall Burns' lines on "Auld Nickie-ben."

> "But fare ye weel, auld Nickie-ben!
> Oh wad ye tak a thought and men'!
> Ye aiblins might—I dinna ken."

Another time it seemed as if the devil appeared to him in a blaze of glory and glittering robes, and declared that he was Christ, and demanded Martin's homage. But Martin, after looking hard at him, answered, "Jesus the Lord, has not promised that He will return with royal diadem and glittering robes. I will not believe that Christ is come save in that state and form in which He suffered, bearing visibly the wounds of the Cross." Even on his death-bed he was troubled by his enemy, who had threatened when Martin was a young man to be his constant opponent, and he cried out, "Why standest thou there, horrible creature? Thou hast no share in me."

invectives of Bricio was suppressed about 460, in all the MSS. of the Frankish family. But it is found in the *Book of Armagh* (see Gwynn's Edition, p. 432) which consequently represents a text older than 460.

Patrick also had similar experiences. He had visions and seemed to hear voices distinctly. We have spoken of the voice he heard announcing his deliverance from captivity.[27] He had a vision in the bosom of the night of a man Victoricus bearing a bundle of letters, one of which he handed to him. Its superscription was "The voice of the Irish." And at once he seemed to hear the voice of the people who lived near Fochlat by the western sea. "We implore thee, holy youth, to come and walk again [28] (or, hither) among us." On another night he seemed to hear words uttered beside or within him, but he only understood the concluding ones: "He Who gave His life for thee, He it is Who speaketh in thee." [29] "Again," he says, "I saw Him praying within me, and I heard Him praying over me, that is, over the inner man, and He was praying fervently and with sighs."[30]

Furthermore, on the day of his rejection he was encouraged by a very distinct dream. He saw a writing without a title opposite to his face, and he heard the "Divine Response" saying, "We have seen with indignation the face of our designate without his proper title." This strengthened Patrick in his already weakened resolution to undertake the work of which Christ had taught him.[31] In *Confession*, 35, he refers to the constant warnings he had received of danger from this "Divine Response."

Patrick also had a terrible experience one night, which he says he would never forget as long as he lived. "Satan attacked me,"[32] he says, "fiercely, and there fell upon me, as it were, a great rock,[33] and I lost all power over my limbs. But whence came it into my mind to call 'Helias?' Thereupon I saw the sun (*Helios*) rising into the heaven, and while I was shouting,

'Helias, Helias,' with all my strength, behold, the splendour of that sun fell upon me, and shook off the whole weight that oppressed me. And I believe that Christ my Lord came to my aid, and that His Spirit was even then calling me." Again, he speaks of the strong enemy who daily tries to overthrow his faith and his determination to live a chaste life." [34] The envy of that enemy is shown in the tyranny of Coroticus,[35] and in the cruelty of the raiders whom Zabulus (the devil) has deeply in his toils (*graviter inlaqueavit*).[36] With these last words compare the words of the hymn ascribed to Patrick :—

> "I bind unto myself to-day
> The pow'r of God to hold and lead
> Against the demon snares of sin
> Against all Satan's spells and wiles."

It seems a strange coincidence that both Martin and Patrick were at one time in imminent danger of their lives, and that they were both miraculously saved. The story of Martin falling into the hands of a band of brigands in Italy, and declaring, when they were about to kill him, that he was a Christian, and that he did not fear to die, and by his courage converting the chief, has a parallel in the account Patrick gives of his being seized with his companions, of their being robbed and bound, of the desire of their foes to slay them, and of their release on the fourteenth day.[37] "God released me from their power, and all that belonged to us was restored."

Martin was not a scholar, neither was Patrick. Both were conscious of their deficiencies in this respect. Martin, however, like Patrick, in his rugged and pictorial discourses was an effective preacher, and made a strong impression upon the pagans. Both men

broke fresh ground, were pioneers of the Gospel, and induced pagans to give up idolatry.[38]

Furthermore, Martin, like Patrick, was a keen advocate of the monastic system. He had lived as a hermit in Gallinaria and Capraria, whither he was followed by Hilary of Poictiers, who afterwards gave him a site for a monastery—the first in Gaul—in Lugugé (361). After he had been made bishop he founded another *majus monasterium* (Marmoutier), where the monks devoted themselves to prayer and the copying of manuscripts. Patrick, who had lived in a similar monastery in Gaul, introduced the system into Ireland, and as a result, "sons of the Irish (Scotorum) and daughters of the chieftains,[39] are seen to become monks and virgins of Christ. Like Martin, who refused all personal gifts from Valentinian and others, St. Patrick gave back the presents placed upon the altar for his use.[40] He would take no fee, no bribe, no reward. And in writing *Epist.* 14, where he speaks of the custom of the Roman and the Gallic Christians to send suitable messengers to the Franks and other nations with many thousands of solidi to redeem baptized captives, he may have had in his mind the fact that Martin applied a gift of two hundred pounds of silver for this purpose, and impoverished himself to redeem Christian prisoners of war. But, unlike Martin, Patrick lays no claim to miraculous powers. His chroniclers, Muirchu and Tírechán, however, made up for this oversight. The vividness of Martin's mind, and his concrete manner of expression in describing his own subjective impressions and experiences may explain much of the miraculous element. But it is quite possible that a man of an ascetic prayerful habit and so commanding and fascinating a

personality exercised a powerful psychological influence upon his fellows, and did things that seemed wonderful at the time, and were afterwards converted by his chronicler into marvels. Both men lived a strenuous, ascetic, self-denying life : both were humble men of heart, upheld by faith of God, devoted to the Trinity,[41] sweet and loving in character, and of indomitable perseverance.[42] Both were overthrowers of idolatry, and both left an indelible impress upon the memories of their people and on the mind of the Church. And if Patrick spent any time in Gaul, as he must, according to his own *Confession*, in which he speaks of his brethren in the Gauls (c. 43), have done, he must have heard of Martin and fallen indirectly under the spell of his saintly and self-denying life, even if he never saw him. It may have been through his influence that the name of Martin became popular in south-west Britain, as he represented to have been in Colgan's *Tertia Vita*. In that work and in the *Life* by Probus, Patrick's relationship, as we have seen, to Martin is developed. Martin is his relative and he lives with him.[43] Ninian of Scotland, also, who is described by Bede as being long (*multo tempore*) before Columba, seems to have been associated with Martin. He dedicated his church at Candida Casa (Whitern) to Martin, and evidently evangelized the Picts, whom Patrick describes as *apostate* (*apostatarumque Pictorum*).[44] We know that Martin's name was last on the list of the "*deprecatio*," used by Columba in Hy. Adamnan,[45] says, that one day after they had mentioned the name of St. Martin, Columba told the choir to add the name of Columbanus, and that then they knew that the latter had gone to his rest. When Augustine came to Canterbury, he found a Gallican Use [46] in the

Church there which was dedicated to St. Martin. St. Martin is the patron saint of Norway; and his death is recalled every Martinmas (Nov. 11th).

[1] *Proceed. R.I.A.*, iii. 324, Paper of Nov. 9th, 1846.
[2] *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 273.
[3] *Vita, ad finem.*
[4] *Conf.*, 32.
[5] *Conf.*, 26.
[6] *Ep.*, 21.
[7] "Ignobilitas mea" (*Conf.*, 56), "mea gratia" (*Conf.*, 37; *Ep.*, 11), "parvitas nostra" (*Ep.*, 9), "incredulitas mea" (*Conf.*, 2), "ignorantia mea" (*Conf.*, 2, 62), "insipientia mea" (*Conf.*, 46 "negligentia mea" (*Conf.*, 46), "imperitia mea" (*Ep.*, 20), "modicitas mea" (*Conf.*, 50). All such are a periphrasis for *ego*.
[8] *Conf.*, 1.
[9] *Ep.*, 1.
[10] *Ep.*, 12.
[11] *Conf.*, 59.
[12] *Conf.*, 58.
[13] Sulp. Sev., sec. 9: "Impie repugnabant, dicentes scilicet contemptibilem esse personam, hominem vultu despicabilem, veste sordidum, crine deformem."
[14] *Conf.*, 35.
[15] *Conf.*, 13.
[16] *Conf.*, 33.
[17] *Ep.*, 12: "Longe est a caritate Dei."
[18] *Ep.*, 10.
[19] *Conf.*, 11.
[20] *Conf.*, 12.
[21] *Ep.*, 10.
[22] *Conf.*, 16.
[23] *Conf.*, 18.
[24] *Conf.*, 19.
[25] *Conf.*, 17.
[26] *Conf.*, 18.
[27] *Conf.*, 17.
[28] "*Adhuc*" (*Conf.*, 23). *Adhuc* is used in the three senses of *still, again,* and *so far,* by Patrick (*Conf.*, 21; *Conf.*, 53; *Ep.* 15). *Cf.* Latin Irenaeus, iii. 16, 4: "cum *adhuc* (still) in vulva matris esset"; "*adhuc* amplius," i. 23, 1. Still further, in sense of *again*: "*Adhuc* ait in baptismate," Matthaeus, iii. 9, 2; "manifestius illud *adhuc* ostendit," (*i.e.*, Paulus) v. 10, 2. Here it seems to combine both meanings. A fascinating theory is founded on this word "adhuc," which would be shattered if it could mean: "We entreat thee to come and walk so far among us (*adhuc,* even here to the West)."
[29] *Conf.*, 24.
[30] *Conf.*, 25.

[31] *Conf.*, 30.

[32] *Temptavit* implies attack. Cf. *Conf.*, 26: "Temptatus sum ab aliquantis senioribus."

[33] Cf. the German "Der Alp hat mich gedrückt" (the Alp has oppressed me) for nightmare.

[34] *Conf.*, 44. "Fortis est qui cotidie nititur subvertereme a fide et proposita castitate religionis."

[35] "Invidet inimicus per tirannidem Corotici," *Ep.*, 6. Martin made Avitian release some prisoners. "Why do you stare at me?" said the Count. "I was not staring at you, but at the demon who is sitting upon your neck," was the reply. (Sulp. Sev. *Dial.*, iii. 8.

[36] *Ep.*, 4.

[37] *Conf.*, 52.

[38] *Conf.*, 41–51. Martin, according to Gregory of Tours, extended his diocese far and wide beyond the town of Tours, of which it had only consisted at first. He built churches and monasteries wherever he destroyed heathen temples.

[39] Cf. *Ep.*, 12; *Conf.*, 31.

[40] *Conf.*, 49.

[41] The document *Confessio Fidei de Sancta Trinitate*, ascribed to Martin, is not thought now to be his work.

[42] *Conf.*, 58.

[43] Patrick was born 389. (See Bury's *Chronology, op. cit.*, p. 334). He could hardly have known much of Martin, who died 403 at latest (see Gwynn's Edition *Book of Armagh*, cclxiv), fourteen years after Patrick was born. Ussher's date of Patrick's birth is 472; Archbishop Moran's 473.

[44] *Ep.*, 15.

[45] *Life of Columba*, iii. 12.

[46] Bede, *H. E.*, i. 27, records the question Augustine put to Gregory on the subject of the difference between the Gallican and the Roman Use: "Why are there different customs in different Churches seeing that the faith is one and the same. Why is one form of Mass in the holy Roman Church and another in the Gallican Church?" "It is my pleasure," replied Gregory, "that if you have found anything either in the Roman or the Gallican or any other Church which may be more acceptable to Almighty God, you make choice of the same and teach the Church of England whatsoever you can gather from the various Churches."

CHAPTER II.

ST. PATRICK AND THE SEMI-PELAGIAN SCHOOL OF LERINS.

THE Pelagians never formed a distinct sect or separate communion like the Donatists. But their views were, nevertheless, widely spread both in Gaul and Britain, if in a modified form. As Dr. Neale said, "The English Church has in its earliest infancy evinced a tendency to Pelagianism." [1] Cassian, the Eastern monk, who settled at Marseilles (*c.* 410), was the champion of a modified form of Pelagianism called semi-Pelagianism. While condemning Nestorianism and Pelagianism in his *De Incarnatione*, and acknowledging that the whole race was involved in the sin of Adam, and could not be saved but by the righteousness of the Second Adam, he joined issue with the fatalism of Augustine, who made all the benefits of grace in a man's life depend upon one crowning benefit of grace (*beneficium gratiae*), the gift of perseverance. This gift, according to Augustine, decided between the saved and the lost. It might be granted to unholy people, and it depended altogether upon the Divine predestination, the arbitrary will of God, God's foreknowledge of those who would persevere, being His foreknowledge of those He intended should persevere in this system. According to this view, it would appear

that Christ did not die for all, but only for those for whom it was fated he should die. Cassian, on the other hand, held that human nature was not altogether dead in sin, but in a weakly state through sin, whereas Pelagius regarded it as sound and whole. Cassian believed in the co-operation of the human will with the will of God, as Tennyson expressed it :

> " Our wills are ours, we know not how,[2]
> Our wills are ours to make them Thine."

He held that the call to salvation was due in some cases to the preventing grace of God, and in others to the spontaneous effort of the human will, as in the case of Zacchaeus and the penitent thief.[3] His was a modified theory of predestination according to foreseen merits and perseverance. And this perseverance was not a special gift incapable of being lost, but largely, if not altogether, dependent upon man's exercise of his will and his own determination. The weakness of the Semi-Pelagian position lay in its ascribing the beginning of salvation to the free-will of man, and not to Divine grace. But the spirit of the party was conciliatory and ready to accept any compromise that would save the Church from Pelagianism on one hand and fatalism on the other. The Isle of Lerins, on the south coast of France, doubtless through the influence of this Cassian, who was the friend of Honoratus, its first abbot, and of Eucherius, one of its inmates, afterwards Bishop of Lyons,[4] seems to have been the home, for a time, of this semi-Pelagianism. In one sense, this view was a reaction against the extreme application of the Augustinian theory of predestination ; and in another sense it was a return to the sounder views of Irenaeus, which were widely spread in Gaul. Irenaeus held the " all-

predestinating" will of the Almighty,[5] but he also maintained the absolute integrity of the human freedom of will,[6] and made the freedom of choice the basis of human responsibility and the underlying principle of merit and demerit.[7]

In the year 429, when Hilary, who had remained in the monastery of Lerins for a time after his friend Honoratus's appointment to Arles, succeeded him as Bishop, letters were written by a layman called Hilary, and by Prosper of Aquitaine, on the subject of predestination to Augustine. Prosper,[8] in a long letter, described the various forms of dissent from the views of Augustine in South Gaul; referred to Cassian and others, whom he afterwards attacked in his poem, *De Ingratis*, and stated that while Bishop Hilary, "a man of great influence and spiritual studies," was in other respects a supporter of Augustine, he did not agree with his predestinarian views. This drew from Augustine his treatises *On the Predestination of the Saints* and *On the Gift of Perseverance*, and a letter in which he expressed surprise at this dissent from his views.

Hilary (who is to be distinguished from the older Hilary of Poictiers) was one of the most brilliant and interesting of the sons of Lerins, where Tírechán states that Patrick was educated for thirty years.[9] He was the devoted pupil and personal friend of Honoratus, and pronounced his funeral oration in a sermon that was justly praised for its easy and graceful eloquence by many of his contemporaries. It was said of him that had Augustine come after him, he would have been esteemed a lesser man. Occupying the position he did, he could not avoid the great controversy of his day between grace and free-will, but while differing from

Augustine, whom he greatly admired, in some respects, he was no Pelagian. He believed in preventing grace. On his death-bed he said : " In reliance on the heavenly grace which prevents us, we have had to endure a struggle on this earth, which no man who desires to attain blessedness can escape." He believed that it was impossible for man to win the victory by himself. " Our envelope of clay," he said, " cannot prevail against the power of the devil *without the grace of God*." But he also believed in the necessity of human effort, for he said, " this ambush of the tempter can only be foiled by a fierce and incessant struggle." He also said, addressing our Lord, " The bands of Thy love will deliver me from the chains of sin, if I preserve them in my heart." Predestination to salvation was not absolute and without conditions, in his opinion.

Vincent of Lerins was another illustrious member of this community, who is said to have disagreed with Augustine's dogmas on the subject. In his famous *Commonitorium*,[10] written three years after the Council of Ephesus (434), against the profane novelties of all the heretics—he laid down the three famous tests of true doctrine, " quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus credendum est," *i.e.* universality, antiquity, and general consent, according to which not only the novelties of Pelagius, but also the newly formulated theories of Augustine would be condemned. Two other works are ascribed to him against the predestinarian views of Augustine. One of these—*Objectiones Vincentianae*—is only known by the reply of Prosper, and while Baronius held that the work was not by Vincentius, Pagi believed it was. It is remarkable that Vincent omitted from his list of approved theologians (*c.* 41), the name of Augustine, whom

Prosper, in his poem, *De Ingratis*,[11] described as "the light of the age," doubtless because of his views on original sin and predestination. He certainly attacked the exaggerated views held by the followers of Augustine as "the licence of profane novelty," but he never attacked Augustine by name.

After Augustine's death, in 430, Prosper and Hilary the layman went to Rome, and brought back a letter from Celestine I., to some of the South Gallican bishops reproving the errors and indiscretions of their opponents.[12] This did not seem to have the desired effect, owing to the influence of Faustus, afterwards Bishop of Riez, in Provence, who became Abbot of Lerins in 433, and ruled it for nearly sixty years, and was a contemporary of St. Patrick. According to Tillemont and others, this Faustus was a Briton. In his work *On the Grace of God and Free Will* he censured Pelagius, but he insisted on the co-operation of the human will with the Divine, and he caused a presbyter (Lucidus) to be censured in the Council of Arles for teaching fatalism through a misunderstanding of Augustine's books (475). He condemned, in a letter to the same man, both the views of Pelagius that man can be saved by his own efforts without grace, and was born without sin; and the views of the extreme Augustinian school that the vessel of wrath cannot become a vessel of honour, and that Christ did not die for all men, or willeth not that all should be saved. He pronounces anathema on any one who shall declare that "the lost had not received the power of being saved."[13] In his address *To Monks* he appealed to their will. "Use your will," he said, "resist the devil. Cherish all graces, especially obedience and humility." "The more ardour and zeal we have, the more help

He gives. The more we ascribe to diligence, the more He will add to glory. To him that hath shall be given." These words were intended probably for the monks of Lerins, who admired Faustus for his earnest, ascetic life. Faustus was also given to good works, and beloved by his people. In his views on free-will and grace he stands midway between Augustine's views of the total depravity and disability of human nature and Pelagius' views of the complete soundness of human nature. He condemned the predestinarian views, which were centuries afterwards formed into a creed by Calvin, as "blasphemous, heathen, fatalistic and immoral." He held that the human will was weakened by the Fall, but did not altogether lose its Divine endowment, the spark of good, which, when fostered by man, can co-operate with the Divine Will.

Another brilliant light of Lerins was Eucherius, afterwards Bishop of Lyons (434). Previously to his being made bishop he had spent a considerable time in solitude and study in Lerins, and wrote an interesting letter called *A Eulogy of the Desert.* Cassian had addressed the second part of his *Conferences* (*Collationes*) to him and Honoratus, in which he gave expression to his own views on the blending of grace and free-will in man's salvation, which could not have been disagreeable to Eucherius. In one of his works Eucherius discusses the existence of evil, which he treated as the privation of good. He praised Lerins in what has been described as "one of the most beautiful books ever issued from Lerins." He said: "It is chiefly my dear Lerins that I honour. Right worthy is she to have such a father (as Honoratus), who possessed the power of the apostles, and in whose face the rays of their glory shone. What congregations,

what families of holy men I have seen there! The sweet perfume of their lives is exhaled everywhere. We may indeed call them a battalion of angels." [14]

It is possible that Patrick may have been one of the monks at the time. If so, it was no mean honour for him to have been in the company of so noble and brilliant a personage as Eucherius of Lyons, who was described by Mamertus of Vienna as "by far the greatest of the great bishops of the age." Like Lupus, the princely Bishop of Troyes (429), he was seized and proclaimed bishop against his will.

Towards the end of the fifth century flourished one Gennadius, a presbyter of Marseilles, who has thrown an interesting light on all these personages in his book on *Illustrious Men*. He seems to have been considerably influenced by their opinions. For he censured Augustine for his much speaking, blamed Prosper, and praised Faustus. When speaking of one of the writings of Pelagius, he said it was "a book necessary to students." He also opposed the traducianist view which Augustine held, and he himself espoused creationism. In his work on *Ecclesiastical Dogmas*,[15] he defined his own position thus: "There remains freedom of will for the seeking of salvation, God first admonishing and inviting to salvation, so that the man may either choose or follow." [16] He assigns the beginning of all goodness in man to the grace of God, but maintains the freedom of the human will. His words seem inspired by a passage in Irenaeus: [17] "Since then it lies in our power to love God more, the Lord taught, and His Apostle recorded it, that we should by strenuous endeavour attain unto this for ourselves (*cum agone hoc nobis adinvenire*) otherwise, of course,

our possession (of freewill) would be irrational because undisciplined."

Irenaeus [18] two centuries previously, had regarded this use and possession of freewill as a test of character, and said that they who advocated a mechanical view of nature, and regard the autonomy of man as derogatory to the omnipotence of God, treat God as if He were not all-powerful. "For He made men rational, endowed with the power of judgment and moral discrimination, not like irrational beings of a purely animal nature. . . . The objection, therefore, that God should not have created angels capable of transgression or men capable of ingratitude, if it held good, would cause virtue to lose its dignity and communion with God its value, and men would never seek to attain to what is good, when it would come without any effort on their part, of its own accord and without their concern. And so goodness would have no merit, because men would be good by nature rather than of free choice; and therefore they would not understand that virtue is an excellent thing in itself, and would consequently fail to enjoy it." [19] This passage equally condemns by anticipation the position of one who held that men are saved by predestination, for in that case men would surely not understand that salvation is an excellent thing in itself, and would fail to enjoy it. On the other hand, Irenaeus, who maintained that God made man like Himself, that is, endowed with freedom of will,[20] believed firmly in Divine grace. He says: "Life (evidently including spiritual as well as natural life) is not from ourselves, nor from our nature, but according to the grace of God it is given." [21] He also writes of the indwelling Spirit Who "gives life and increase to our manhood." [22] He believed accordingly

both in grace and freewill, but not in a grace which could do without free-will, nor in a free-will which could dispense with grace. But he did not attempt to solve the antinomy. Well had it been for Augustine's fame as a theologian and philosopher if he had followed this wise example. Well, too, had it been for Pelagius had he recognized the influence of heredity and society on the life and circumstances of man, and the necessity of baptismal regeneration on which Irenaeus insisted.[23]

It was men from the school of Lerins, where the students were grounded in Irenaeus's ennobling philosophy of God and man, who repudiated, on the one hand, the ultra-predestinarian views of Augustine, and, on the other, refuted the " Pelagiana perversitas " [24] in Britain. There Pelagianism was strong. It appealed to the Celtic mind. Considering how little is known of the early British Church, it is astonishing to find how much of it is connected with this heresy. It was probably promulgated there by Agricola, a pupil of Pelagius, his father Severian,[25] and Fastidius. The latter is mentioned favourably by Gennadius in his work *On Illustrious Men*, as a bishop of the Britons who wrote a book on the Christian life, addressed to one Fatalis, a widow, in which he quoted Pelagius twice, but not by name, speaking of those who sinned " after Adam's example," and quoting Pelagius's words on prayer to the widow Juliana, mother of Demetrias, in his advice to the widow Fatalis. There were doubtless many others like him ; for a deputation was sent from Britain to Gaul requesting help to put down this heresy.[26] In answer to this request a large synod in Gaul sent Germanus and Lupus, men of Lerins, to stem the tide.[27] At Verulamium (afterwards St. Albans) they silenced the Pelagian leaders who

had challenged them to a public discussion, "pouring forth the torrents of their eloquence and thundering forth quotations from Evangelists and Apostles" (429).

Again in 447, the call for help came from Britain, and this time Germanus took Severus with him. It is said that the Pelagians were, as the result, deported from Britain. But the heresy was not crushed. It has been frequently condemned, but as frequently again has it arisen, notably in the controversies of the Scotists with the Thomists, of the Arminians with the Calvinists, of the Jesuits with the Jansenists.

There is, as we have seen, abundant proof that Pelagius was held in high regard in Ireland, doubtless because of his supposed Irish descent.[28] Pope John (640) reproached the Northern Irish with Pelagianism.[29] The Irish canons of the eighth century quote from Pelagius as an equal authority to Jerome or Augustine, *e.g.* "Pelagius ait, Hieronymus ait, Augustinus ait." In the Würzburg MS. of the Pauline Epistles (800–900) the unmutilated work of Pelagius was used as the chief source of its Irish-Latin Commentary. It quotes his name some nine hundred times. In the *Book of Armagh* "the prologue of Pelagius to the Epistles" was frequently used. Sedulius Scottus, an Irishman who lived at Metz (848–858), used the original unmutilated Commentary of Pelagius in his work on the Pauline Epistles.[30] Marianus Scottus, another Irishman, who lived at Ratisbon (1079) made free use of this work of Pelagius in his work on the Pauline Epistles. Partiality for their countryman rather than adherence to his doctrine is expressed in the general respect for his memory and admiration for his talents. The work was considered necessary to students, and

its views were often cited, as in the Würzburg MS., to be refuted.

There were, however, influences at work in the opposite direction both in the south of Gaul and in Ireland, which appear to have affected Patrick's thoughts of this great question. Mention has been made of Prosper's poem, *De Ingratis*, in which there is a reference to the "Britannus Coluber," the British snake, Pelagius.

> "Dogma quod antiqui satiatum felle draconis
> Pestifero vomuit coluber sermone Britannus."
>
> ["The dogma steeped in ancient dragon's bile
> The British snake disgorged in tainted style."]

The poem denounces those who set their freedom of will against grace:

> "Vos soli ingrati, quos urit gratia, cujus
> Omne opus arbitrio vultis consistere vestro."
>
> ["You are without all grace whom grace offends
> Who deem that everything on will depends."]

It was written after 428 A.D., when the joint letter of Prosper and Hilary the layman was sent *to* Augustine. Prosper was a devoted adherent of Augustine, and he was supported in his views by Orientius, in his *Commonitorium*, a poem of some 1400 lines. Orientius was Bishop of Auch, in the South-West of Gaul, for forty years, and almost at the end of his life mediated between Theodoric and Aetius (439–440). He also referred to Pelagius as the "coluber." Whether this was a reminiscence of Prosper's epithet, or whether Prosper borrowed it, cannot be proved.

> "Caerula despiciens colla premes *colubri*."[31]
>
> ["Thou wilt crush in disdain the serpent's neck."]

There are many passages in his poem which prove that Orientius was an Anti-Pelagian :

" Ergo nisi eloquium, sensum, nisi Christe, ministres,
Conatus animae tu nisi Christe, regas,
Ora homines omnes et muta et bruta tenebunt
Quodque etiam possunt, hoc quoque non poterunt." [32]
" Nil proprium est nobis, Ipse habet, Ipse dedit." [33]
" Te penes officium nostri et cordis et oris." [34]
" Quod nunc per Dominum renovat data gratia Christum." [35]
" Haec licet in melius mutarit gratia Christum." [36]

In these lines, which are rendered into English in another place, every good effort of man, his every power and gift, are ascribed to Christ as giver and ruler.

We have also the anti-Pelagian views of Germanus of Auxerre and his friend Lupus, who crushed the Pelagians of Britain, and who doubtless taught by precept and example our Patrick to ascribe everything he did well, his every success and work, in vivid speech to the grace and Spirit of God. " So far by the favour of God I have kept the faith " ; [37] " I was slow to recognize the grace which was then in me " ; [38] " under the guidance of God " ; [39] " I thank God who kept me faithful " [40] " I am debtor to God Who gave me so much grace " ; [41] " With the help of God it was done " ; [42] " So much grace which the Lord deigned to give me " ; [43] " The Lord gave grace to many of His handmaidens." [44] In *Conf.*, 33, Patrick says: " I ought not to hide the gift of God which He bestowed upon us in the land of my captivity, because then I earnestly sought Him and there I found Him, and He preserved me from all evils. This I believe was due to His indwelling Spirit Who hath worked in me unto this day." In this passage he seems to ascribe his seeking and finding of God to the work of the indwelling Spirit. Finally, in *Conf.*, 62, he concludes by begging

his readers to consider his work, whatever its scanty merits may be (*si aliquid pusillum egi vel demonstraverim*), as the "donum Dei," the gift of God. "Give what thou biddest (da quod jubes) was a saying of Augustine.

Patrick may also have been influenced by the *Treatise* of Irenaeus, which must have been known in Southern Gaul in his time. With the above quotations compare the following passages on grace, in the *Treatise:* "to bestow grace"; [45] "bestowing grace"; [46] "He bestows grace upon us"; [47] "that having obtained more grace we may love Him more"; [48] "You will minister according to the grace given to thee of the Lord." [49]

Patrick's doctrine of the indwelling Spirit expressed in the passages: "I felt in myself no little strength proceeding from Him"; [50] "On account of the indwelling Spirit who worked in me until this day"; [51] "As the Spirit desires, the heart (*affectus*) is the key to the souls and minds of men"; [52] and "God Who conquers in me" (*Conf.*, 37) might well be based on such passages in the *Treatise* as "Unless the Word of God dwelt in us, and the Spirit of the Father was in us"; [53] "The Spirit of God dwelleth in us"; [54] which are derived from Romans viii., a favourite chapter of SS. Patrick and Irenaeus.

At the same time Patrick thanks God Who has kept him faithful, so that he can offer to Him a sacrifice, his own soul to Christ; [55] but he hurries to retract even this amount of independence in the next sentence: "But who am I? or what is my calling, O Lord, that Thou hast thrown the mantle of Thy Divinity around me?" (*cooperuisti divinitatem*). "It was not my grace, but God Who overcometh in me," he said, when

describing the sufferings he had endured, and the sacrifices he had made in order to preach the Gospel to the pagan Irish.[56] It was God's grace that so many people were regenerated (*i.e. baptized*) and confirmed, and so many clergy ordained by him.[57] "I fear," he says, "to lose the labour which I have begun."[58] He hastily corrects himself, "yet not I, but Christ in me."[59] But turning from his own story to address his brethren, he says: "Would that you would imitate greater things and do more important things" ("Utinam ut et vos imitemini majora et potiora faciatis"),[60] appealing to their own freedom of will. But as to himself, if he is an "helper of God" (*adjutor Dei*), it is because it has been given to him to be such.[61] He does not know what return he can make to God, "because I see nothing but what He Himself has given me" ("quia nihil video nisi ipse mihi dederit").[62] He prays to God to give him "perseverantia" (not in Augustine's sense, but *endurance*), so that he may show himself a true witness until his passing.[63]

In his Epistle he says: "I have received from God what I am";[64] "It was not my grace, but God Who put this care in my heart"[65] (*non mea gratia sed Deus*—same phrase in *Conf.*, 37), and he desires that this letter be read in the presence of Coroticus and all his people, if perchance God may at some time inspire them to return to the Lord (*si Deus inspirat illos ut quandoque Deo resipiscant*),[66] and repent.

This ascription of everything to God is the natural attitude of a spirit that ever lived in communion with the Lord, and of one who believed that his whole life had been mapped out by God for a special work. On the other hand, he appealed to his brethren to imitate greater things and to do mightier things. As a

preacher he appealed to free will, but when relating his own experiences, he saw nothing but the grace, the gift of God. He speaks of a predestination, but it is a predestination to service, not to salvation. "I have my part," he says, "with those whom He called and predestinated to preach the Gospel". [67] He speaks of an election, but to the ministry, not to eternal life: "His priests whom He elected." [68]

[1] *Holy Eastern Church*, i. 37.

[2] Tennyson recognized the insoluble antinomy, the inexplicable mystery of the human will in its relation to the Divine.

[3] *Conferences*, xiii. 11, 12. Caesarius of Arles, who became Abbot of Lerins in 502 A.D., presided at the Second Council of Orange (529), in which this very question was discussed, and when it was declared that the faith of the penitent thief and of Zacchaeus did not come by nature, but was a gift of Divine grace. At the same Council predestination to evil was condemned.

[4] Cassian addressed some of his *Collationes Patrum* (xi.–xvii.) to Honoratus and Eucherius.

[5] "Omnia praedestinans" (*Adv. Haer.*, ii. 2, 3).

[6] "Quod est sui arbitrii et suae potestatis" (v. 29, 1.).

[7] iv. 37, 1.

[8] Prosper in 437 (*circ.*) answered Cassian's *Collationes Patrum* with a book, *Contra Collatorem*, in which he made the remarkable allusion to Pope Celestine and Ireland—"Et ordinato Scottis Episcopo dum Romanam insulam studet servare catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam."

[9] Tírechán says: "Erat autem in una ex insolis quae dicitur Aralanensis (= Lerinensis, Todd) annis xxx mihi testante Ultano episcopo."

[10] In this work there are several strikingly parallel passages which recall the clauses of the Athanasian Creed on the Trinity and the Divine Persons of the Godhead.

[11] lit. "On the Ungrateful Ones," but the veiled meaning is "On the Enemies of Grace."

[12] Celest., *Ep.* xxi. 1, 2.

[13] "Qui dixerit illum qui periit non accepisse ut salvus esse posset."

[14] *De Laude Eremi*, c. 42, 43.

[15] C. 21.

[16] "Manet ad quaerendam salutem arbitrii libertas sed admonente prius Deo et invitante ad salutem ut vel eligat vel sequatur."

[17] iv. 37, 7.

[18] "Alias autem esset videlicet nostrum insensatum bonum quod esset inexercitatum." See also iv. 37, 4: "If it did not lie in our power to do these things or not to do them, what reason had the

Apostle, and the Lord Himself long before, to advise us to do certain things and to abstain from others? But since man has free will, and God, in Whose image man was made, has free will, the advice is always given to the former to hold fast to the good which is attained by obedience to God. And not only in works but also in faith the Lord maintained the freedom and autonomy of man, saying, 'According to thy faith be it done unto thee,' showing that man has faith of his own as he has an opinion of his own. And again, 'All things are possible to him that believes,' and, 'Go, as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee.' All such sayings show that man is free as regards faith."

[19] iv. 37, 6.

[20] iv. 37, 4.

[21] ii. 34, 3. In the same chapter he says: "Patre omnium donante et in saeculum saeculi perseverantiam his qui salvi fiunt." And "Deo vitam et perpetuam perseverantiam donante," which has an Augustinian ring. But *perseverantia* = διαμονή, endurance or continuance of existence, not perseverance in Augustine's sense. In iv. 37, 7, he wrote: "The Lord endured these things for us that having been trained by all this, we might be guarded (*cauti*) for the future, and might persevere in all His love (*perseveremus in omni ejus dilectione*), having been taught to love God rationally." There is no *donum perseverantiae* here.

[22] iv. 20, 10.

[23] See i. 21, 1, where Irenaeus speaks of a form of Satanic error which led to a denial of that "Baptism which is a regeneration unto God."

[24] *Vita Germani.*

[25] Haddan and Stubbs, i. 14.

[26] "The faith of the Goidelic Celts, as above stated, is usually called, from its great exponent, Pelagianism" (W. Bund, *Celtic Church in Wales*, p. 108). This is much too sweeping an assertion."

[27] See *Vita Germani*, by Constantius.

[28] Jerome described him as "Scottorum (Irish) pultibus praegravatus," and "progenies Scotticae gentis de Britannorum vicinia," but Prosper, "Aut hunc fruge sua aequorei pavere Britanni." Professor Bury's opinion is that he was a member of a Celtic tribe, or family, that settled in South Wales or Britain (*Hermathena*, 1904, "Origin of Pelagius").

[29] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 19.

[30] Zimmer, *Celtic Church*, p. 21.

[31] *Commonitorium*, ii. 2.

[32] ii. 40 *et seq.*

[33] i. 72.

[34] i. 25.

[35] i. 94.

[36] i. 247.

[37] *Conf.*, 44: "Usque nunc favente Domino fidem servavi."

[38] *Conf.*, 46: "Non cito agnovi gratiam quae tunc erat in me."

[39] *Conf.*, 37: "Gubernante Deo."

[40] *Conf.*, 34: "Gratiam ago Deo meo qui me fidelem servavit."

[41] *Conf.*, 38: "Debitor sum Deo qui mihi tantam gratiam donavit."
[42] *Conf.*, 19: "Adjuvante Deo ita factum est."
[43] *Conf.*, 3: "Tantam gratiam quam mihi Dominus."
[44] *Conf.*, 42: "Dominus gratiam dedit multis ex ancilles."
[45] iv. 9, 3: "Gratiam praestare."
[46] iv. 13, 2: "Gratiam praestantes."
[47] ii. 28, 7: "Gratiam nobis praestat."
[48] iv. 13, 4: "Ut plus gratiam ejus adepti plus eum diligamus."
[49] *Praef.*, i.: "Ministrabis secundum gratiam quae tibi a Domino data est."
[50] *Conf.*, 30.
[51] *Conf.*, 33: "Propter inhabitantem Spiritum qui operatus est usque in hanc diem in me."
[52] *Conf.*, x.: "Sicut Spiritus gestit et animas et sensus monstrat affectus" (*Conf.* x.).
[53] v. 9, 4: "Nisi verbum Dei inhabitaverit et Spiritus Patris fuerit in vobis."
[54] v. 8, 2: "Spiritus Dei habitat in ipsis."
[55] *Conf.*, 34.
[56] *Conf.*, 36.
[57] *Conf.*, 38.
[58] *Conf.*, 43.
[59] *Conf.*, 43.
[60] *Conf.*, 47.
[61] *Conf.*, 48.
[62] *Conf.*, 57.
[63] *Conf.*, 58.
[64] *Ep.*, 1.
[65] *Ep.*, 11.
[66] *Ep.*, 21.
[67] *Ep.*, 6.
[68] *Ep.*, 6.

CHAPTER III.

ST. PATRICK AND ORIENTIUS OF AUCH.

THERE is a distinguished Gallican bishop with whom it is not improbable that Patrick was in some way associated at an early period in his life. This was Orientius, Bishop of Auch, in the south-west of France, of whose history little is really known, save that he is said to have mediated between Theodoric and Aetius in 439, and to have saved the city of Auch from the Vandal. He was bishop for many years, probably from 405–445, and consequently was bishop when Patrick was passing through the south of France with his captors and their hunting dogs (408 A.D.).[1] The way we fix this date in Patrick's life is as follows: He tells us he was sixteen years old when taken prisoner, and that he was six years in captivity.[2] He speaks of a sin committed just before his fifteenth year.[3] It was thirty years after that, he says, when he was made bishop. This we know from Prosper was in 432. Accordingly, if he was born in 387, his twenty-second year would fall in the year 409. It was in the following year that Honoratus established himself in Lerins. Patrick would then have had some years wandering in Gaul before he found the brotherhood there. His return to Britain (*Conf.*, 25), which happened *after a few years*, has to be intercalated between this time and

the visit to Lerins. How was this time, "*these few years*" of which he speaks (*Conf.* 23) filled in? This chapter is an attempt to answer the question.

In 406 the invasion of the barbarians, the Vandals, Sueves and Alans, began to fill Gaul with consternation. Orientius, in his poem, described the devastation wrought by those hordes. "No castle was secure through its position, no city through its walls. Inaccessible places were not safe by sea, nor melancholy places through the desert. The holes and caves in the midst of the cliffs could not elude the bands of barbarians. The smoke of the whole country of Gaul went up as from one funeral pyre."[4] In these lines the poet-bishop was evidently describing the south-west corner of Gaul, the plains watered by the Garonne at the foot of the Pyrenees, in which Auch was situated, and over which the Vandals and Sueves had poured on their way to Spain. "Caves in the centre of the cliffs"[5] is a word-picture in Orientius of the haunts of the fugitives in the mountain frontier between Gaul and Spain.

Patrick says that he and the sailors journeyed for twenty-eight days after leaving the ship through a desert.[6] That fact made an impression upon him. He mentions it twice.[7] During that time they saw no one. They were evidently following in the tracks of the Vandals, who murdered everybody and burned everything as they advanced. If they had landed at Bordigalum (Bordeaux), as Probus says, which would be made in about three days' sail from Wicklow, and worked their way down along the banks of the Garonne through the desert made by the barbarians, they would eventually have arrived at Ausci (now Auch), an important city in the south-west of Gaul. At any

rate, the sailors brought Patrick with them to their destination,[8] after a journey of two months. Considering the difficulties and the dangers of such a journey, and the privations they had endured, the length of time occupied by it need not surprise us. Their course must have been very slow, as they had dogs in their charge, and may have been also retarded by sickness. Patrick tells us that they had to abandon many of their dogs, who died on the road. When at last they arrived at their destination, they had absolutely no food.

What was their destination? We can infer from the fact that the shipmen had a number of Irish hunting dogs [9] with them, that it was a market in the South of France where such dogs, which were greatly prized at the time in that district, could be disposed of at a good price. Arrian, in his treatise on the hunting dog,[10] says the Irish hunting dogs were in great request for their speed in Gaul. Orientius himself refers to hunting dogs: [11] "You attack the charging animals with steel; you chase the flying ones with dogs." The south-west corner of Gaul was an ideal country for hunting; and many of the gentry around indulged in this pastime. Ausci (Auch), the principal city in this district, mercifully spared by the Vandals, owing to the mediation of Bishop Orientius, would have been a good market for such dogs. We may presume, then, that Ausci was their destination.

After they had arrived at Ausci, some one's attention would naturally be drawn to the young stranger who was with the sailors, and on learning his story, would have made an appeal to the Bishop of the district to ransom him according to the custom of the Gallic Christians. Patrick refers in a very feeling manner to

this custom in his *Letter*.[12] The bishop, on discovering Patrick's devotional and religious bent, would not only have ransomed him, but have taken him to his own house, and treated him with hospitable care and kindness until he could send him back to his own country.

We have support for this theory in the apparent influence of the teaching and the writings of Orientius upon the mind of Patrick. One remarkable feature of his religious thought is his freedom from even semi-Pelagian views of grace and free will. This for one afterwards trained in the School of Lerins, as we have reason to believe he was, would have been a moral impossibility, had there not been a previous deposit of teaching of another sort. Now it is clear that Orientius had not an intense love for Pelagius. He refers to him by his nickname "the snake" (*coluber*), saying: "You will press down the green neck of the snake."[13] Many of his lines, as has been mentioned in a previous chapter, have an anti-Pelagian tendency. He said:

> "Unless, O Christ, Thou dost confer on men
> The gifts of speech and reason, and unless
> Thou rulest all the strivings of the soul,
> All men were dumb or brutish in their speech,"
> And they would lack whate'er of power they have."[14]

And again he writes:

> "Nought is our own. He has it, He gave it."[15]

He refers in other passages to the renewing grace of God.[16] In this point, as in many others, Orientius is followed by Patrick, who regarded everything he had and everything he did as the gift of God,[17] and speaks of the grace that was in him. This early lesson which he may have received from Orientius, and which

Orientius may have derived from Irenaeus, was never forgotten by Patrick. It guided him all through his life.

Furthermore, if we compare the writings of Patrick with those of Orientius, we are struck by the number of similar thoughts and expressions we find, some of which are common enough in the literature of those times, but when all are taken together, their accumulated weight tells.

(1) Both express themselves as truly penitent for their sins. Orientius in no hypocritical manner says he surpasses all sinners. When referring to his past life he says: "A sinner like myself, nay, less than me who am the worst, for I exceed all in my crimes." [18] Patrick writes: "I, Patrick, a sinner, the least of all the faithful.[19] He tells us of his carelessness about God in his early youth, his sin and his great sorrow. Never was there a more genuine case of repentance. It afterwards became the fashion for Christian writers and bishops to describe themselves as "sinner" (*peccator*). Constantius, the writer of the *Life of Germanus*, called himself so. At the Council of Carpentras (527), thirteen bishops signed themselves *peccator*, not *episcopus*.[20]

Their sufferings and sorrows gave them their great sympathy with others. "It is from my own experience that I try to help the unhappy, for I who have suffered all things tell you what should be shunned," [21] wrote Orientius. And Patrick said: "I remained in death and unbelief until I was sorely chastened, and was in truth brought very low by hunger and nakedness, and that daily." [22]

(2) "Brief life is here our portion," is the subject of a long passage in Orientius,[23] while Patrick refers

to " the unhappy kingdom of this world, which may pass away in a moment like a cloud of smoke." [24]

(3) In the poem of Orientius our Lord apostrophizes His followers thus : " O Band, enter into the rest and praise of the righteous, nevermore to be separated from My Kingdom." [25] In his *Confession*,[26] Patrick says : " for in Him we are to reign." And in his *Letter* [27] he addresses the Christians who had suffered martyrdom at the hands of Coroticus : " You, therefore, will reign with the apostles and prophets . . . you will receive an eternal kingdom."

(4) The judgment of the saints is described by Orientius.[28] " For they too will accompany the King in a dense body, when the Lord shall stand as Judge upon the earth."

Patrick refers to this when he says : " They (the righteous) will judge nations, and will rule unjust princes."

(5) Orientius, in gruesome pictures, describes the punishment of the wicked, which, in contrast with the shortness of this life, is to last for ever. Here brief pleasure is confined to a short span ; there is the devouring flame with everlasting sulphur.[29] And " there will be gnashing of teeth and weeping of eyes and torture of limbs in universal flames. For the sentence of the eternal judgment is that they shall endure whatever they are ordered." [30]

Patrick says the murderers of his people " will be handed over to the perpetual punishment of Geenna with the devil himself," and that " they work death, their perpetual punishment." [31]

(6) Patrick prayed for the martyr's death. " I pray," he says, " that he may grant me to shed my blood along with those strangers and prisoners, for

His name's sake." [32] Orientius referred to this desire among the Christians of his time. "Seeking the true life, they did not hesitate to give their own lives for the name of Christ." [33]

Patrick refused gifts "for the hope of eternal life." [34] Of the monks who renounced the world Orientius said: "They hope for the rewards of the judgment to come." [35]

(7) Both described the Resurrection in similar phrases. Patrick said: "In that day we shall arise in the brightness of the sun, that is, in the glory of Christ Jesus our Redeemer." [36]

Orientius said: "They shall shine like the rays of the brilliant sun, their glorious limbs veiled in snow-white robes," [37] and "suffused with the true light, the brilliance of God."

Both express their belief in the physical character of the Resurrection and the ultimate reunion of body and soul. Said Patrick: "Though I be even deprived of burial itself, or even if my body be divided limb from limb in the most awful manner among dogs and wild beasts, or even if the birds of the air devoured it, I most firmly believe that if this happened to me, I would have gained my soul with my body." [38]

Compare the lines of Orientius: "A portion will return to form the limbs from the tombs, a portion from the waves, that which has been scattered by the wind, or eaten by the beast, or burnt by fire, or crushed by a falling house, every part will be there. The whole body will come together from diverse places, even what has been torn by bird or fish or beast. So when the flesh has returned at the motions of the spirits, punishment will overtake the guilty, but glory will crown the righteous." [39]

(8) The Judgment is depicted as universal and searching in both writers.

" In that day," said Patrick, " no one will be able to withdraw or conceal himself, but we all must, without exception, give an *account* of even our smallest sins before the *judgment seat* of Christ the Lord."[40] Orientius describes our Lord ascending the *judgment seat*,[41] and says that " Whatever one speaks even with unguarded lips, one must give an *account* of his words."

The peace of the soul in Christ is the only reward that satisfies these writers. " If you wish to please Christ alone, you must seek no honour from man," [42] said Orientius. While Patrick said : " I seek not honour from any of you. For the honour which is not yet seen but is believed in the heart is sufficient." [43]

(9) Orientius recommends charity to the poor. He said : " For you will lay up in heaven whatever for the name of Christ and with regard to Christ you will give to the poor." [44] And evidently thinking of Martin, who is said to have divided his military cloak with a beggar, he wrote : " Divide with the unhappy your cloaks, your caps, your food." [45]

Patrick for his part lived in poverty. " Poverty and misfortune suit me better than riches and luxury," he wrote. He also speaks of his gifts and spendings in Ireland. He refused a fee for his offices.[46]

Orientius praised chastity and celibacy, and points out the advantages of the latter.[47] St. Patrick declares that " he is strong who daily strives to wreck my faith and the chastity of true religion which I have purposed to keep unto my dying day." [48]

Both refer to monks. Orientius, may have been thinking of the new community of Lerins, when he

says: "This band will also have holy priests, and monks withdrawn from the madding crowd." [49] This word "priests" (*sacerdotes*) may contain an allusion to presbyters like Honoratus, Hilary, and others who belonged to Lerins, and had not yet been made bishops.

Patrick says he cannot count the sons of the Irish and daughters of the chiefs who have become monks (*monachi*), and virgins of Christ.[50] He had already said: "Sons of the saints and daughters of the princes appear to be monks and virgins of Christ." He also refers to "religious women," widows and continent persons.[51] Orientius also speaks of holy women, whom he would remove entirely from the society of men.

(10) Orientius refers to rhetoric as a much studied art. His own style is careful and easy. Patrick is conscious of his deficiencies in this respect. He is painfully aware of his "rusticity." He says he has not studied like others who have drunk in the sacred writings; [52] that he is devoid of skill; [53] and a writer without an eloquent and condensed style.[54]

It is possible that he was thinking of the refined and terse speech of one like Orientius, of whom Sigebert de Gembloux (tenth century) remarked that "Orientius wrote his *Commonitorium* in the heroic metre, and in a manner that charms the reader with its pleasant and pregnant style.[55] Orientius described the divinity students poring day and night over their tasks.[56] and Patrick refers to these "chaste [57] rhetoricians of the Lord, who seem to be wise and learned in the Scriptures, powerful in speech and in other things."

(11) Orientius speaks of "sonship in God" as the climax of the Christian's life. "You will begin to be a

son of the Supreme God," [58] he wrote. Patrick frequently used this expression. See *Confession*, 4: "Who (the Holy Spirit) makes those who believe and obey sons of God."

(12) Orientius is said to have combated Arianism among the Goths. "Moreover, it is necessary," he said, "to add that you must believe that Christ is from the Father, and with the Father, and the Holy Ghost also is without distinction united with Them, and that these Three Names make One God." [59] Compare Patrick's words: "Christ will remain for ever, Who reigneth with God the Father Almighty and with the Holy Spirit," and "One God in the Trinity of the Sacred Name." [60]

(13) We have already mentioned that both writers ascribe all power for good in man to the grace of God, in contrast with the independence of Pelagius and even with the position ascribed to the will by the semi-Pelagian school of Lerins.

(14) Both refer to prayer in picturesque and forcible language. Orientius said: "With tears of supplication, with groaning (*gemitu*), prayer and beating of the breast, seek the God Who bringeth salvation, by night and by day." [61]

Patrick, on his part, used to say, day and night, a hundred prayers. He describes the Lord praying over him with groanings (*gemitibus*).[62]

(15) Both speak of conscience and the knowledge of good and evil,[63] and condemn avarice. Orientius, selecting examples in the Old Testament, such as Abel and Cain, Joseph and his brethren, Saul and David, connects avarice with hatred of one's brother. "Avarice makes brothers hostile to brothers, and the life of parents hateful to their children." [64] He speaks

of the "crime" of avarice.[65] Patrick said: "It were long to discuss in detail examples in the whole law, of such avarice. Avarice is a mortal *crime*," and immediately after saying "Thou shalt not covet," says, "Thou shalt not kill." [66]

(16) Both describe the desolation and devastation of south-west Gaul.

These are some interesting parallels, but perhaps the most remarkable are to be found in the invocations of the Breastplate Hymn (*Lorica*), ascribed to Patrick, and the *Orationes* ascribed to Orientius, both of which are based upon the nature worship of the Celt, which was in a measure taken over by him into his form of Christianity.

Orientius invokes "Summer sun with sister moon and watery air or clear sky, with winds, rains, hail, lightnings, and stable earth, ocean encircling the land, and the middle abyss of the inner whirlpool."

In St. Patrick's Hymn we have, in Dr. Whitley Stokes' translation: "I bind myself to-day to virtue of heaven, light of sun, brightness of moon, splendour of fire, speed of lightning, swiftness of wind, depth of sea, stability of earth, firmness of rock." [67] There are quite a number of other touch-points, such as the references to poisoning, between the two writers. But these must suffice.

There are also a large number of Latin expressions and tricks of speech common to both writers. Both use *discutere* in senses of discuss and shake off: and *discere* in sense of discipleship. Both use *affectus, consummare, insinuare, innumerus, deliciae, illecebrae, laniare, laqueare, assidue, nudatus, pius, perennis, pulsare, titulus, satiare, sensus, subtrahere, sapere*, etc. Both use *iste* for *hic, quod* after *credo*, a neuter adjective

as an adverb, and two adjectives together, one being employed as substantive.

Such points of similarity in subject matter and expression in the writings of Patrick and Orientius may possibly be explained in some other way, but they seem to establish some connection between the men themselves, whether personal or literary we cannot say.

Now it is a remarkable thing that there is a tradition of a copy of Orientius' works having been brought to England. There was an edition of Orientius brought out at Weimar by Schurzfleisch (1716). In his title he referred to it as "a new recension from the Oxford manuscript." With regard to this MS. M. Bellanger, the French editor of Orientius, said: "In reality, there was no MS. of Orientius at Oxford, but the text of Rivinus with marginal corrections." Professor Robinson Ellis, in a lecture at Corpus Christi College,[68] said with regard to this tradition of an Oxford text, "it remains for future research to confirm or overthrow it." The Auchin MS. of Orientius, discovered in 1599, and edited by Rivinus, was published at Leipzig, and is contained in a small volume, *Patrum Hispanorum Musae Sioniae,* now in the British Museum. One of Bodley's librarians inserted on the first page this note: "The MS. collations in this volume form the *Codex Oxoniensis* of Orientius referred to by Schurzfleisch. The locality of the original MS. is unknown. F. Madan, Jan. 9, 1885." This is interesting whether there was or was not an Oxford MS. The epitaph on Archbishop Theodore (died 690), given by Bede, is said to be founded on some lines of Orientius." [69]

But the case of the Oxford MS. does not depend altogether upon this parallel, but upon the points of

similarity in subject matter and use of words between the writings of Orientius and those of St. Patrick, which are considerable, regard being had to the brevity of the books, Orientius running only to 1400, and Patrick to 800, lines. These, we submit, go to prove some kind of association between the men, and makes the existence of an MS. in Early Britain not improbable.[70] At least they would suggest that such a MS. could have come through Patrick's possessing one. The poem of Orientius was written after the invasion of the barbarians, which began in 406, when it was fresh in men's memories, and before its traces had been obliterated. Another indication of the date of this poem, its *terminus ad quem*, is furnished by the many similarities and parallel and identical phrases in the poem of Rutilius Namatianus, *De Reditu Suo*, which are evidently borrowed from Orientius, and which is dated by its author 1169 A.U.C. (416 A.D.).* Accordingly it is quite possible that between 408 and 415 this poem may have been seen by Patrick. It is hardly likely that he would have returned to Britain without a gift of books to improve his mind.

This meeting of Patrick with Orientius may be pure conjecture, but one thing is evident, and that is that Patrick fell among friends who were able to assist him to return after a time to his own country. For he says: "After a few years I was again in the Britains with my relations who loved me as a son." [71] It was while with them that he saw the vision of the Irish youth Victoricus carrying a letter to him entitled the "Voice of the Irish," and that he seemed to hear the speech of those near the wood of Fochlad, by the

* Quamvis sedecies denis et mille peractis
Annus praeterea jam tibi nonus erit" (i. 135).

western sea, saying, "Holy boy, we implore thee to come and walk once more with us." [72]

His heart was touched by the vision, and he determined to do something. After very many years, he thanks God, the Lord answered their prayer. What happened in the meantime? Tírechán gives us the clue. He says that he spent thirty years (a possible mistake for twenty) in one of the Lerine islands. He probably felt that he was not fit to undertake a mission to Ireland, or more probably desired to visit again his friends in the sunny south of Gaul.[73]

It is also to be remembered that in his day *nolo episcopari* had meaning. Men preferred to live as monks than as bishops. The abbots of Lerins were conspicuous for this desire for retirement. They were seized and made bishops against their own will.[74] Patrick says he did not come *of his own accord* to Ireland until he was nearly worn out. He may have avoided Ireland so long through fear of being made a bishop if he came, and because he did not feel eager or qualified for that post. When he was appointed there was opposition and jealousy, and unkind and cruel things were said of him. Being of a sensitive, affectionate and trusting nature, he was deeply hurt, and in his own defence wrote this noble and truthful apology for his life, which is one of the greatest treasures, if not the greatest treasure, of the Irish Church.

A curious custom connected with the procession that leaves the Church of St. Orens, as Orientius is called in the Gallic Church, is that it advances from left to right. This may have been a Celtic usage. A parallel occurs in Tírechán's story of Patrick, where the King's party from Tara, when approaching Slane where Patrick was, turned to the left "ad laevam." [75]

[1] *Conf.*, 1.
[2] *Conf.*, xvii.
[3] *Conf.*, 27.
[4] *Commonitorium*, ii. 165 *sq.* :—

> " Non castella locis non tutae moenibus urbes,
> Invia non pelago, tristia non heremo,
> Non cava, non etiam mediis sub rupibus antra
> Ludere barbaricas praevaluere manus
> Uno fumavit Gallia tota rogo."

[5] *Mediis* sub rupibus antra (Prof. Ellis' reading for metuis).
[6] *Conf.*, 19.
[7] *Conf.*, 19, 22.
[8] *Conf.*, 22 : " On that night, when *we arrived* (pervenimus), *i.e.* at our destination, we had, indeed, no food left."
[9] *Conf.*, 19.
[10] ii. 60.
[11] 147 : " Prona petis ferro, canibus fugientia sistis."
[12] *Ep.* 14 : " Consuetudo Romanorum Gallorum Christianorum."
[13] " Caerula securus colla premes colubri " (ii. 2). Pelagius was known as the " Brittannus coluber," *e.g.*, Prosper of Aquitaine wrote :

> " Dogma quod antiqui satiatum felle draconis
> Pestifero vomuit coluber sermone Britannus."

[14] i. 25 : The Latin is given in a previous chapter.
[15] i. 72 : " Nil proprium est nobis, Ipse habet, Ipse dedit." Cf. Augustine : " da quod jubes."
[16] i. 94 ; i. 247.
[17] *Conf.*, 12.
[18] ii. 418 ; i. 610.
[19] *Conf.*, 1.
[20] *Cf.* " Laudobaudis *peccator* ecclesiae Sagensis."
[21] i. 405.
[22] *Conf.*, 27.
[23] ii. 161–265.
[24] *Ep.*, 19.
[25] ii. 381.
[26] 59.
[27] 18.
[28] ii. 341 *sq.*
[29] i. 412.
[30] ii. 386–390.
[31] *Ep.*, 4 ; *Ep.* 13.
[32] *Conf.*, 59.
[33] ii. 352.
[34] *Conf.*, 49 : " Propter spem perennitatis."
[35] ii. 339.
[36] *Conf.*, 59.
[37] ii. 323.
[38] *Conf.*, 59.
[39] i. 267–275.

[40] *Conf.*, 8: "Reddituri rationem . . . tribunal."
[41] Tribunal . . . (ii. 369); ratio (ii. 319).
[42] ii. 24.
[43] *Conf.*, 54.
[44] i. 565.
[45] i. 214.
[46] *Conf.*, 55; 51; 52.
[47] i. 389 *et seq.*; ii. 327 *et seq.*
[48] *Conf.*, 44: Patrick, *Ep.* 21, says: "Ut *mereretur Deo* vivere. Orientius, "Solum vult caelets *emeruisse Deum.*"
[49] ii. 336: "Secretos que hominum turbinibus monachos."
[50] *Ep.*, 12.
[51] *Conf.*, 41: The reading *sanctorum* (Armagh) was changed to Scottorum by scribes who disapproved of married clergy. *Sancti* were evidently the clergy, like Patrick's own father and grandfather. See *Conf.* 42.
[52] *Conf.*, 9.
[53] *Conf.*, 49.
[54] "Non disertus *brevitate* sermonem explicare," *Conf.*, 10: (explicare = finish off, complete, not explain). *Cf.* the remark of Orientius (i. 202): "Plenius hac tradi quid *brevitate potest?*"
[55] *De Vir. Illust.*, 34: "Mulceat legentem *suavi breviloquio.*"
[56] ii. 328.
[57] *Conf.*, 13, reading my own suggestion, "Domini casti" for "dominicati."
[58] ii. 402.
[59] "Unum consummant nomina trina Deum" (ii. 407).
[60] *Conf.*, 4: "Unum Deum in Trinitate sacri nominis."
[61] i. 401.
[62] *Conf.*, 25.
[63] ii. 261, i. 206; *Conf.*, 2; *Conf.*, 31.
[64] i. 515.
[65] "Crimen avaritiae" (i. 484).
[66] *Ep.*, 9. Law here means the Old Testament.
[67] *Cf.* the Gaelic oath of Ferdia in the Tain. "I will not go without securities, without the sun and moon, together with the sea and land." Laoghaire swore by the sun and moon and elements, and broke his oath. We read, "The sun and moon killed him because he broke his oath."
[68] Feb. 19, 1903.
[69] The epitaph runs:

"Alma novae scandens felix consortia vitae
Civibus angelicis junctus in arce poli."

The verses in Orientius (i. 459) are:

"Invidia infelix mortem moritura paravit
Angelus hac celsi decidit arce poli."

[70] The poem of Rutilius Namatianus, *De Reditu suo*, dated by its author 1169 A.U.C. = 416 A.D., to judge from its many similar phrases, was written after Orientius. This gives us an indication of the date of the poem of Orientius.
[71] *Conf.*, 23.

[72] *Ibid.*

[73] *Conf.*, 28.

[74] Lupus was seized (427) and made bishop of Troyes. Honoratus went reluctantly to Arles. Hilary was forcibly seized and made bishop of Arles (430). Caesarius hid, lest he should be bishop of Arles in 502. Maximus, abbot of Lerins, hid himself in a forest for three days, when wanted for Riez.

[75] Professor Rhys describes a lake "round which stations are made 'desiul' (right wards), except in case of maliciously disposed persons who occasionally come on the sly in the dead of night and go round *widdershins*, in order to raise a storm." Proceedings R.S.A.I., 1898, p. 233.

CHAPTER IV.

ST. PATRICK AND HONORATUS OF LERINS.

ONE cannot understand the life and thought of Patrick apart from his training and travels in Gaul. We have seen that if he was consecrated bishop in 432, and was then forty-five years [1] old, he must have escaped to Gaul about 408, as he was then in his twenty-first year.[2] After some years' wandering during which time he may have, as we suggested, fallen in with Orientius, Bishop of Auch, he returned to Britain. For he says that *after a few years* he was in Britain with his family (*Conf.*, 23). There he saw the vision of the Irish Victoricus inviting him over to help the Irish. This inspired him with the desire to evangelize his countrymen. But he says the Lord only granted them their desire *after many years* (*Conf.*, 23). Where was Patrick all that time?

There is strong documentary evidence as we have seen for the belief that Patrick spent many years in one of the Lerine Islands [3] off the south coast of France. The number of years (30) given by Tírechán is probably incorrect. But from his own *Confession* we learn that he had made friends in Gaul, and that he longed to visit his brethren, whom he called "the saints of the Lord" there.[4] These were doubtless his companions in the school of Lerins, which was not founded until 410.

It seems probable that part of the "many years" was spent with the brotherhood of Lerins, and part with his good friend Germanus of Auxerre.

An account of the founding and the founders of that famous divinity school will now be given.

Honoratus, a man of noble birth, had repaired to the Lerina Insula [5] (Isle de Lerins), off the south coast of Gaul, after Divine warning, but against his father's wish, in order to live in solitary contemplation away from the temptations of the world. He had previously gone on a pilgrimage to certain sacred sites with two companions—an old man, Caprasius, and a young man, Venantius. It was after the death of the latter that he determined to separate himself from the world, having first made distribution of his property to the poor. The world had a looser grip of those early Christians than it has of those of our century. Perhaps the remembrance of what Patrick and his contemporaries did and suffered for the faith may stir us to do nobler things, and create in us higher ideals of work and of worship than we see around us. At the same time, we cannot but feel that that day had its own form of sentimental folly in the extreme way in which it showed its infatuation for the monastic and ascetic life. There is, however, something to be said for "the praise of the desert" (*de laude eremi*) [6] when men wanted to retire to the country for thought and study and literary labour, and desired to escape the ordinary routine of social pleasures in the city, for which they had lost the taste. But the fault lay in finding a virtue in what was a real advantage to the mind, and in making what was, and should always be, a voluntary surrender and self-denial, a matter of fixed rule and a proof of spiritual superiority. It was an

easy step to pass from that position to the stage of calculating the amount of merit and of estimating the works of supererogation. But we have not yet reached that period of declension. In the days of Honoratus and Patrick there was a glamour and romance about the monastic life which it lost in the course of time, both because human nature is human nature, and except in the case of rare and lofty souls, is not able to bear the strain ; and because good causes are always tarnished by unworthy adherents.

Cassian, the Eastern monk, who founded a rigid order at Marseilles, and who wrote against Augustine's views of predestination, and against Pelagius' views of free will,[7] may possibly have been the master of Honoratus. He addressed his *Collationes* (x.–xviii.) to Honoratus, abbot of Lerins. The latter landed on the island which has been called after him, L'isle de St. Honoratus, between 400 and 410. Paulinus of Nola, the friend and correspondent of Augustine (*c.* 410), in his letter to Eucherius refers to the institution as recent. There Honoratus planted vines, dug wells, kept bees, banished snakes, cultivated clover, founded a brotherhood, and a school of divinity which became the nursery of famous presbyters, bishops and saints. The introduction of manual work into Lerins was a vast improvement upon Martin's method at Marmoutiers. It served not only as a discipline, but also as a means of making provision for the wants of the poor. Hilary himself worked in the fields in order that he might have the wherewithal to give to the needy.

An interesting account of the fascinating Honoratus is given in the funeral sermon on the *Life of Honoratus,* delivered by his friend Hilary, who

succeeded him as Bishop of Arles (430). It is more of a biographical sketch than a sermon; and yet the beauty of the man's soul and the nobility and unselfishness of his life were a living sermon, and a fine subject equally for a character-sketch and a pulpit oration. With regard to the keeping of bees in Lerins Eucherius [8] made a happy remark after receiving a letter from Honoratus: "You have restored their own honey to your waxen tablets." [9] Hilary cites this in his sermon.[10] It suggests the reason for the rearing of bees. Hilary also describes the expulsion of the reptiles from the island.[11] He says: "He seeks an island uninhabited because of its squalor and unapproached because of the dread of its poisonous reptiles. He disperses its terrors. The horror of the solitude passes, and the snaky crowd departs." [12] Constantius, in his *Life of Germanus*, the friend of Hilary and Patrick, describes serpents gliding away harmlessly from the presence of Germanus. Mark xv. 18: "They shall take up serpents," had a realistic significance in those days. Hilary appropriately quotes Psalm xc. 13: "Thou shalt tread upon (*conculcabis*) the lion and the serpent." In this connection we may remark that the voice of tradition assigns the *rôle* of serpent-banisher to St. Patrick. But the only trampling (*conculcatio*) he speaks of in his *Confession* is the trampling which he received from his enemies.[13]

On the island of Lerins there are to-day the ruins of an ancient church, *la chapelle de la Trinité*, with triple apse, a doorway consisting of three stones, and a roof in shape like to a clover leaf. All around grows in great profusion a species of shamrock (seamrog, small seamar or trefoil) called *medicago agrestis*, or country medic (μηδική). To complete the parallel,

as the early Celtic institutions suffered from the depredations of the Northern pirates and had to be defended by the round towers, at once the admiration and despair of architects of every succeeding age, so this ancient foundation was harried by the Moslem pirates from the South. Eventually, in the eleventh century, a building, half fortress and half church, was erected ; and its great shell is still sufficiently preserved to indicate its massive size and strength.

Firstly, as regards the bees, we know from the Brehon laws that the Irish were expert bee-masters, and it is just as impossible to say that Patrick introduced the art into Erin as it is to say whose method—Virgil's, Columella's, or Pliny's—it was that Honoratus followed. Secondly, we have referred to the belief that Patrick banished snakes from Erin. It is a fact that no snakes are found in Ireland, and that those that have been deliberately enlarged perished shortly afterwards. Thirdly, it is stated that he used the clover or three-leafed shamrock as a symbol of the Trinity. This has been described as a mediaeval legend, but it is most probable that the shamrock, with its three leaves on one stem, which grows all over Ireland, may have struck him as a good illustration of the Trinity for simple folk. It appears that the shamrock was a sacred plant to the Druids, and Pliny in his *Natural History* says that serpents are never seen upon the trefoil, and that it prevails against the bites of serpents. The tradition at least is founded on the fact that Patrick was a keen exponent of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, "One God in the Trinity of Holy Name." [14] Again, he says in *Conf.*, 14: "It behoves us in the full-proportioned faith of the Trinity to make distinctions" [15] (*distinguere*), a passage upon

which considerable light, as we shall see later on, has been thrown by Hilary. Patrick would have in the three-leafed shamrock, if not a perfectly adequate illustration, at least a sufficiently suitable picture of this profound truth of Three Persons in One God, for simple folk.

To return to Honoratus, Hilary tells us that strangers were attracted from every part of Europe to St. Honorat by the fame of its abbot: "They flocked from every quarter to him. What land, what nation, has not its representatives in his monastery? What savage dispositions did he not subdue! How often did he make men from being fierce as wild animals as tame as doves! How did he at times bedew sour natures with the sweetness of Christ!" [16] Honoratus seems to have had a disposition as beautiful as his countenance, which Eucherius says, "shone with a sweet and attractive majesty." Hilary describes it as *Christi dulcedo* (the charm of Christ), an expression which recalls Augustine's term of endearment for his Lord, "dulcedo mea." Patrick's desire to make monks (*monachi*), and nuns (*virgines Christi*) in Ireland,[17] and his mention of his own intention of celibacy (*proposita castitas religionis non fictae*), [18] undoubtedly point to his training in some such monastery. In passing, we may note a curious reading of the *Book of Armagh*, in *Conf.*, 41.[19] Instead of the "sons of the Scoti" (Irish), we have "the sons of the saints (*sancti*), are seen to be monks." This latter is probably the correct reading, as it is more probable that *sancti* was altered to *Scoti*, to suit the new ecclesiastical notions, than that *Scoti* should have been altered into *sancti*.

The sympathy, insight into character, and gentle tact of Honoratus must have been example and

inspiration to the young Briton of Roman descent. Hilary writes of him : " He believed the failings of all his people were his own, and wept for them as his own ; he also looked on their progress and labours as his own." [20] We can imagine Patrick learning the Old Latin version of the Scriptures and the Latin translation of Irenaeus's great treatise *Adversus Haereses*, of which he has many reminiscences, under the direction of this patient, wise and kindly man. Hilary describes the judicious way Honoratus gave his students individual treatment. According to what he had found each man's nature, bent, and character to be, he dealt with him in love, he prayed for him, he spent for him, and all this eagerly, speedily, and unweariedly.[21] Honoratus thus combined two gifts rarely found together, delicate discrimination and swiftness of decision and action. He tried first to understand his men, and then having found out for himself what might be made of them, and what they might be fit to do, prepared them accordingly. What a wonderful master and head of a divinity school he must have been. His system of training was laid on a sound psychological as well as spiritual basis. He dealt with his men as if they had each their separate life to live, their special work to do, their own peculiar gift to be developed. Such teachers not only understand their men, they help them to understand themselves and their own deficiencies. Similarly, Arnold of Rugby's greatness lay in his individual treatment of his boys. As we read Hilary's appreciation of his friend and master's life we feel attracted by the spiritual beauty, unselfishness, sweetness, devotion, and power that radiated from those early Christian teachers, and we sigh over our own shortcomings in these important respects.

It was doubtless his having had such a master who was aware of his imperfections, but who understood and appreciated the desire of his soul that made Patrick write afterwards in his *Confession :* " Although I am imperfect in many things, yet I desire that my brethren and kinsmen may know what manner of man I am, and be able to understand my heart's wish." [22] We can well believe that Honoratus would have shown wisdom and affection in his treatment of the stranger from Britain. It was a special department of his work, which he did not leave to others, to care for strangers and guests. " Great was his care for strangers and guests " (" Magna in advenas et hospites cura "), writes Hilary. Patrick was not allowed to feel " a stranger and pilgrim " (*proselytus et peregrinus*),[23] or " a stranger and exile " (*proselitus et perfuga*),[24] under the hospitable roof of Honoratus. He often felt so in Ireland afterwards, but he could not resign his post. He too had learnt to be zealous and unwearied [25] in the Master's service.

Honoratus handled his men with skill, and they responded to his touch. He talked to them publicly and privately, sweetly and firmly, as they required it, and he made the whole band eager for God's service (*divinae cupida servitutis*).[26] Of his own " ministry of service " (*ministerium servitutis*) Patrick writes in his *Confession*, c. 49. He is desirous that it may be acceptable to the pagan Irish, and therefore he guards himself from every appearance of evil, and refuses the gifts offered to him lest he should give occasion to the unbelievers to abuse or refuse [27] his ministry.

In that monastery of Lerins men of different languages and nationalities lived. They were as different in their customs as in their tongues, Hilary says, but

there was no difference in their love for their great teacher. No wonder that they each desired to have a particle of his dress as a souvenir of his affectionate care of and love for them.

Honoratus, according to Hilary, was opposed in his desire to withdraw from the world by his parents. "Then begins his parents' persecution of him. His father argues, opposes, threatens." [28] Patrick [29] describes similar treatment some of his converts received from their parents, when they desired to leave the world. "Their fathers refuse their consent," he wrote, "and they suffer persecution and false reproaches from their parents, and notwithstanding their number makes greater increase.[30] They endure with constancy even threats and intimidations."

Salvian of Marseilles, described by Hilary as one of the dear presbyters of Honoratus, and also as "the most blessed man Salvianus the presbyter," was one of Honoratus' leading scholars in Lerins. Salvian was afterwards a graceful and prolific writer. Gennadius of Marseilles, his biographer, who died about 497, gives a list of his works. Of these, two are chief, the *De Avaritia* on the ascetic life, written before 430 A.D., and the *De Gubernatione Dei*, in which he throws a light upon the social and political evils that were undermining the empire, and the devastations committed by the Vandals in Belgica, Aquitania, and throughout the whole of Gaul. Salvian was married, but, like Eucherius, together with his wife, espoused the monastic life. Although he did not become a bishop, like Hilary, Honoratus, Eucherius of Lyons, Germanus of Auxerre, Lupus of Troyes, and Patrick, who were all students of Lerins, he was afterwards

known as "Episcoporum Magister," or "Master of Bishops," because he rated Eucherius for treating him with discourtesy. It is remarkable how Patrick, Salvian, and others, had been taught by Honoratus to hate avarice or desire for wealth. "Avarice is a mortal crime," said Patrick.[31] Salvian is very severe on avarice, or the preferring of earthly treasures which no man can take away with him to the heavenly treasures that last for ever. The most precious things which a man can leave to his children, he says, are faith, the fear of God, modesty and holiness. These goods can not perish; but the happiness of children does not consist in riches and property. In this way he argued that a father ought not to leave his wealth to his children. This of course was an extreme view to hold, but it was a logical and necessary reaction against the worldliness of the age. Orientius, the Bishop of Auch (*c.* 415 A.D.), as we have seen, inveighed against "the innumerable crimes perpetuated by avarice alone," which "makes brothers hostile to brothers, and the life of parents hateful to their children." [32] Such was the teaching Patrick would have received in this early college.

It is not to be wondered at that the sons of Lerins spoke in a chorus of praise and love for their island home and master. Caesarius, Bishop of Arles (502 A.D.), exclaimed: "O sweet and happy abode, small and flat to look upon, thou hast raised numberless mountains to heaven. It is thou that dost nourish perfect monks, and sendest forth noble bishops to every province. All whom thy sweet and happy abode receives it raises upon the wings of *charity* and *humility* to the highest virtues."

The two pre-eminent qualities in Patrick's character

are his *charity* and his *humility*. It is possible that he may have learnt to appreciate their beauty in the character of Honoratus and in his divinity school at Lerins.

This school of Lerins was not only famous for the goodness and greatness of its sons, Hilary, Maximus of Riez, Eucherius, Vincent, Lupus, Salvian, Caesarius, and others, men distinguished for their learning and ability throughout the world, but it is also remarkable for the part it played in the development of the Athanasian Creed and the Gallican Liturgy.

By some [33] Honoratus, by others [34] Vincentius, by others still [35] Caesarius is regarded as the author of the Athanasian Creed. Vincentius' claim will be more fully discussed in the next chapter. External and internal evidence indicate the South of France as its home. It was first quoted by Gallican bishops; it was first received in the Gallican Church. The oldest version of it is in the Gallican Psalter of Hincmar. Whoever its author may be, we may be justified in tracing it to the island home of so many great bishops and scholars, L'isle de St. Honorat.

[1] *Conf.*, 27. "After a lapse of thirty years they found occasion."

[2] He was a boy of sixteen when taken; he was six years in captivity (*Conf.*, 1, 17), therefore he was released when twenty-one.

[3] "Erat in una ex insolis quae dicitur Aralensis annis xxx. Tírechán." Todd suggests Lerinensis. Both islands were called by similar names, *Lero* and *Lerina*. There seems also to be a mistake about xxx. It should be xx, as Patrick escaped to Gaul about 408, and could not have joined the monastery before 410, as it was not founded before 410. His return to Britain would also have to be inserted in his life before his visit to Lerins.

[4] *Conf.*, 43.

[5] The other island (Lero) is Sainte Marguerite, where the "Man with the Iron Mask," was confined (1687—1701). It is said that the sister of Honoratus accompanied him to these islands, and that she lived in one and he in the other.

[6] Eucherius shows a real love for nature in his praise of solitude—

" O quam jucundae sunt sitientibus Deum etiam deviae illis saltibus solitudines."

[7] It has been said that " Augustine regarded man in his natural state as dead, Pelagius as sound, Cassian as sick."

[8] Author of *De Laude Eremi*, who lived like a hermit with his wife Galla on the neighbouring island of Lero.

[9] " Mel suum ceris reddidisti."

[10] *C.* 4.

[11] *C.* 31.

[12] " Vacantem insulam ob nimietatem squaloris et inaccessam venenatorum animalium metu . . . petit . . . pavorem discutit, fugit horror solitudinis, cedit turba serpentum."

[13] *C.* 26.

[14] " Unum Deum in Trinitate sacri nomenis " (*C.* 4).

[15] " In mensura itaque fidei Trinitatis oportet distinguere."

[16] " Omnes undique ad illum certatim confluebant. Etenim quae adhuc terra, quae natio in monasterio illius cives suos non habet? Quam ille barbariem non mitigavit? Quoties de immanibus beluis quisi mites fecit *columbas*? Quam amaros interdum mores Christi dulcedine aspersit? " Was this the origin of the name Columba affected by the Irish saints?

[17] *Conf.*, 41.

[18] *Conf.*, 44.

[19] *Sancti* is loosely used as in Hilary, *cf. Ep.*, 14: " mittunt viros sanctos idoneos." In *Ep.*, 12, we have *fillii Scottorum* again. Here the *Book of Armagh* does not help us, as the Epistle was omitted by its scribe. At all events *filii sanctorum* is a better antithesis to *filae regulorum* than *filii Scottorum*. There was an obvious reason for the change.

[20] " Omnium ille passiones suas credidit et tanquam suas flevit, profectus laboresque omnium suas computavit."

[21] Hilary's neat sentence is worthy of quotation: " Amore sumptibus, votis, impiger, festinus, infatigabilis prout cujusque naturam moresque perspexerit . . ."

[22] (*C.* 6.) " Etsi in multis imperfectus sum opto fratribus et cognatis meis scire qualitatem meam ut possint perspicere votum animae meae."

[23] *C.* 26. Vincent of Lerins (434), wrote his *Commonitorium* under the name of Peregrinus.

[24] *Ep.*, 1.

[25] " Impiger, festinus, infatigabilis."

[26] " Hunc secreto, illum palam, hunc severus, illum blandus aggreditur."

[27] " Infamare sive detrectare." I prefer to render *detrectare* refuse rather than disparage. *Infamare* means to abuse, and is a stronger word than *detrectare*, which has the secondary sense of depreciate. If *detrectare* means to disparage here, it is bathos. But render it refuse, and it has a new sense. Patrick refused gifts, lest his spiritual services should be refused. *Cf.* Petronius, 117, 11, " ministerii detractator " (refuser); " venire ad dignitatem detrectaverat " (declined), Hilary, *Sermo.*

[28] "Tota hinc parentum persecutio suscitatur . . . occurrit, renititur, comminatur."

[29] *Conf.*, 42.

[30] "Non sponte patrum earum sed et persecutionem patiuntur et improperia falsa a parentibus suis et nihilominus plus augetur numerus . . . Usque ad terrores et minas assidue perferunt."

[31] *Ep.*, 9, "avaritia mortale crimen." In *Conf.*, 54, he declares that he has not written the account of his money losses for an "occasio avaritiae," in the hope of getting repaid.

[32] *Commonitorium*, 1, 515.

[33] Dr. Burn, *An Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 148.

[34] Ommanney.

[35] Dom Morin. Caesarius (*Sermo*, 244) gives a long quotation from the Creed, which, however, is not thought to be genuine.

CHAPTER V.

ST. PATRICK AND HILARY OF ARLES.

HILARY, in his funeral sermon, quotes a charming description of Honoratus from the pen of Salvian, in which he pays a very gracefully turned compliment to the benign presence of Honoratus. It was to the effect that just as the face of the sky was light or dark according as the sun shone or did not shine upon it, so their whole community received gloom or brightness of mind from him. As in Christ their own sun,* Faustus in his address to the monks of Lerins said : " Remember our illustrious father. Let each take what he can of this precious legacy. One may inherit his faith and his sweetness, and another his benevolence and his wisdom. Although he has taken with him all his treasures, he has left them to us in their entirety, if we desire them."

It was in such a community, " thirsting for heaven and devoted to heavenly studies," that Patrick learned to see in Christ the Sun of all existence, our true and proper Sun. Hence that beautifully worked out contrast in *Confession*, 60, between that sun which we see and which daily riseth for us at God's command, but

* Sicut caeli faciem pro sua sol aut obscuritate aut serenitate mutaret ita congregatio illa caelum sitiens et caelestibus studiis mancipata ab ipso vel nubila vel serenitatem mentium quasi peculiari in Christo sole susciperet.

which will never reign nor will its splendour endure, but all those who worship it will miserably perish, and the true Sun Christ, Whom we worship and believe in, and Who will never perish, nor will anyone who doeth His will, but he will abide for ever, even as Christ will abide for ever.

The teaching of Honoratus on the transitory nature of this life and kingdom compared with that of the life and kingdom to come, is reproduced in the *Confession* and *Epistle* of Patrick. Hilary gives a summary of that teaching in his *Sermo*. "There," he says, "Christ invites us to an *eternal kingdom;* here the devil tempts us to a *temporal* one . . . and the world passeth away and its concupiscence, but he that shall do the will of God abideth for ever, even as He abideth for ever." [1]

This passage in Hilary's *Sermo* throws light upon a strange combination of readings in Patrick's *Confession*. Hilary combined 1 John ii. 17 and John xii. 34, writing: "Qui autem fecerit voluntatem Dei manet in aeternum (1 John ii. 17), sicut et ille manet in aeternum" (John xii. 34). We have the same combination in Patrick: "Qui fecerit voluntatem ipsius manebit in aeternum quomodo et Christus manebit in aeternum." "Christus manet" is in John xii. 34. Notice that both Hilary and Patrick read "fecerit" with Augustine and O.L., while Jerome has "facit."

When addressing the massacred converts, Patrick said: "You will obtain *eternal kingdoms*," and spoke scornfully of "this miserable *temporal kingdom* which surely passeth away in a moment"—words which may have been founded on the above passage in Hilary's sermon.

The ascription in Hilary's sermon, "per Dominum

nostrum Jesum Christum qui te in gloriam suam assumpsit, atque *cum* Patre suo et *cum* Spiritu Sancto vivit et *regnat* Deus per *omnia saecula saeculorum, Amen,*" may well have been in Patrick's mind when he wrote: "Christus . . . qui *regnat cum* Deo Patre omnipotente et *cum* Spiritu Sancto ante saecula [3] et nunc et *per omnia saecula saeculorum, Amen.*"

Hilary tells us that Honoratus was a diligent upholder of the Trinity. It was especially necessary in days when the Goths, who were Arians, overran the Empire, to maintain this doctrine. And we are not surprised to find that Honoratus and his pupils were among the foremost defenders of the Christian faith in this respect. The pupil who contributed the most brilliant work on the subject of the Holy Trinity was undoubtedly Vincentius. There are many passages in his *Commonitorium* which bears so remarkable a likeness to the language of the *Quicunque Vult* that some writers have plausibly held that he was the author of it.[4] Be that as it may, Vincentius did a noble work for the Trinity, and he was well taught by Honoratus, who is addressed by Hilary in his sermon: "You were a daily witness to the Confession of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, nor could anyone easily set forth with equal force and lucidity the Trinity of the Godhead as you, when you distinguished It according to Its persons, and united Them in the eternity and majesty of Their glory." As the Latin is very important, it may be well to give it here: "Quotidianus confessionis Patris ac Filii ac Spiritus Sancti testis fuisti. Nec facile tam exerte (strenuously or clearly) tam lucide quisquam de Divinitatis Trinitate disseruit *cum eam personis distingueres* et gloriae aeternitate ac *majestate sociares.*" In the first place, compare the

words of Vincentius [5] with the above: "Ecclesia Catholica unam divinitatem in Trinitatis plenitudine et Trinitatis aequalitatem in una atque eadem majestate veneratur." "The Catholic Church worships one Godhead in the fulness of the Trinity, and an equality of the Trinity in one and the same Majesty."

Faustus of Riez, a Briton, another pupil of Honoratus at Lerins and his successor in 434, in whose writings are many phrases reminiscent of the Athanasian Creed, in a description of his master says: "Let us hold the right faith, let us believe the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit to be One God."

In the next place compare the words of Patrick at the conclusion of his creed in *Confession*, 4: "We adore One God in the Trinity of the Holy Name" (*unum Deum in Trinitate Sacri Nominis*), and in *Confession*, 14: "In mensura itaque fidei Trinitatis oportet distinguere . . . Dei Nomen ubi que expandere," which means: "It behoves me in the full-proportioned faith of the Trinity to distinguish the Persons" (*cf.* Hilary's expression: "Eam (Trinitatem) personis distingueres") "and to explain [6] the Name of God."

The word *distinguere* is difficult to translate, as it may be taken here in its primary sense of drawing distinctions, or in its secondary sense of teaching, for the theologian draws distinctions, arranges his subject,[7] and teaches. But it seems to have been used as a *vox propria* of an exposition of a trinity and so of the Trinity. In the Latin translation of Irenaeus' *Adversus Haereses*, i. 8, 1, we have this technical use of the word, "distinguens in tria, Deum et Principium et Verbum" (making a threefold distinction of God, and the Beginning and the Word). We can easily

imagine Honoratus, Hilary and Patrick, when "distinguishing" the Persons of the Trinity, saying, with Vincentius and the author of the *Quicunque*, "Alia est persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti"—"For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost," and pointing to the three leaves of the shamrock and the one stem.

There are quite a number of passages and expressions in Patrick's writings which bear a striking resemblance to passages in Hilary's *Sermo*, in addition to those already mentioned. Hilary represents Honoratus as saying: "Et quid ego minimus omnium" —"And what shall I, the least of all, do?" Patrick writes of himself, "Ego . . . minimus omnium"—"I, the least of all."[8] "Per exhortationem parvitatis nostrae"—"through the exhortation of my unworthiness" (smallness), wrote Patrick;[9] while Hilary says of Honoratus: "ad electionem parvitatis meae"—"to the election of my unworthiness." "Vobis enim me . . . per illum Deus genuit"—"for you God begat me through him," wrote Hilary of Honoratus. Patrick speaks of converts, "whom I begot to God" (quos ego genui Deo).[10] "I have received that which I am" (accepi id quod sum), quotes Patrick from 1 Cor. iv. 7. "What hast thou which thou hast not received?" (Quid enim habes quod non accepisti), quoted Hilary from the same passage.

There is a difficult passage in Patrick's *Epistle* on which a sentence in Hilary throws light. *Epistle* 3: "Postera die qua crismati neofiti in veste candida flagrabat in fronte ipsorum dum crudeliter trucidati" —"On the day after that on which the newly baptized in white robes were anointed, it (the odour) was still fragrant upon their brows when they were cruelly

slaughtered." Here Patrick describes how he confirmed these young people (*in Christo confirmavi*), and how the odour was still fresh upon their brows when they were murdered. The words of Hilary are, "In omni accessu eorum bonus Christi odor flagrat" [11]—"At their every approach there is the fragrance of the good odour of Christ"—the odour of sanctity.

Again, Patrick [12] speaks of his decease not as death, but as a *transitus*, a "crossing the bar," a passing. He prays that he may be a faithful witness until he passes hence, "usque ad transitum meum." This word was affected by Hilary, Honoratus and Germanus. The dying words of the last, as recorded by Constantius, were: "Commendo vobis, frates carissimi, transitum meum." The dying Honoratus consoled his friend Hilary with these words: "My passing should not find you unprepared as it has not found me so." (*Non imparatum ergo te invenire meus transitus debuit cum me non invenerit imparatum*). Honoratus was afraid lest the neighbourhood of his death (*vicinia transitus sui*) might throw a shadow over his people.[13] He frequently consoled them, saying that he did not fear to pass through the gates of the new life (*novae vitae januam transire non timuit*). And Hilary avoided saying "after his death"—"post mortem suam"—but said "post transitum suum." We are not surprised, then, to find it used by Patrick.

In *Confession*, 32, Patrick says that his friend, who afterwards betrayed him, pleaded or canvassed on his behalf in his absence. "Ut ille in mea absentia pro me *pulsaret*." "Pulsare" is often used of a cry striking the ears, in Hilary of a prayer reaching God—"Clamor usque ad piissimas Dei aures usque ad misericordiam *pulsavit*." In Constantius' *Life* of

Germanus we find it in such strongly metaphorical passages as "Aras eorum lacrymans pulso" (weeping I beat their altars), *i.e.*, plead with them, and "Astra ipsa ferventes chori pulsant," "the choirs in their fervour strike the very stars." [14] Thus the word came to mean ask, and to be equivalent to *rogare*. It had a technical meaning in the monastery.[15] Hilary plays on the name Honoratus —"Wherever Honoratus goes, honour must be there" (*quocunque Honoratus accesserit adesse illic honorem necesse est*), and "honouring the clergy as fathers" (*clericos ut patres honorans*). Patrick affects this word *honor* where *dignitas* might be more appropriate, *e.g.*, he writes: "There was a name (*nomen* I would suggest for *noctis*, which is unnecessary after *noctem*) written opposite my face"; "sine honore"—"without the title," *i.e.*, of bishop.[16] And "not that I hope for honour (*honorem*) from any of you. For that honour (*honor*) is sufficient which is not seen, but is accepted by faith." [17] Might not the word have reminded Patrick of his beloved master, Honoratus? [18]

One can hardly escape the conclusion that Hilary's sermon on Honoratus, which was delivered at Arles in 430, two years before Patrick came to Ireland, was seen or heard by Patrick. It is not likely that he would have been allowed to come to Ireland without some such gift from his friends.

Hilary, who is famous for the stand he made against Leo's interference [19] in the affairs of the Gallic Church in 445, was a wonderful preacher. But he lived simply as a monk, and worked with his own hands, planting and training vines, in order to earn money to redeem the Christian captives from the Vandals and the Franks. Gennadius, in his work *On Illustrious*

Men, gives a sketch of Hilary, and says that he occupied himself beyond his strength in country toil for the sake of the poor—"pro reficiendis pauperibus etiam *rusticationem* contra vires suos exercuit." What a noble example of a scholar, preacher and bishop toiling with his own hands to supply the necessities of others. We may be sure that our Patrick worked with his own hands, at least to supply his own necessities and to make himself independent of gifts from his people. Patrick, indeed, quoted the words of Ecclesiasticus: "And husbandry, which is created by the Most High."[20] At Lerins he would have been taught such rural occupation. Wherefore he calls himself *rusticus*, a country man, not that that was his status, for he was of gentle folk, but because he worked in the fields. Poverty and trouble, he says, suit him better than riches and luxury.[21] He has been ruthlessly plundered by his guides,[22] who took from him as payment fifteen men's ransom,[23] but he does not grudge it to them, nor the gifts and bribes he has given to the chieftains, for he remembers the *munificentia* of Honoratus, his splendid generosity to strangers and pilgrims like himself, and he only longs to spend his life on behalf of the souls of the Irish (*pro animabus vestris*).[24] "There was nothing on the lips of Honoratus but peace and chastity, piety and charity," said Hilary. "In him abode the chastity which is sanctity, and which is the mother of all the virtues."[25] Patrick, with regard to the covert attack made upon him in his absence by his false friend, says he would have kept silence for the love of Christ, *propter caritatem Christi*,[26] and speaks of his purpose of celibacy[27] from which Satan strove to turn him. It was from such an one as Honoratus that he learned these lessons.

The influence of the Church of Gaul upon the organization, architecture, and liturgy of the ancient Celtic Church has been shown with much detail by the Rev. F. E. Warren.[28] It would be a further interesting link between the Churches if it could be established that Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, had received his inspiration and training for his missionary work in Ireland, and his zeal for the monastic ideal in the famous school of Lerins, the nursery of bishops, the home of scholars.

The Church of England is also connected by a very important tie with Lerins. After Augustine had commenced his missionary work in the South of England (597), he applied to Pope Gregory for consecration; but he bade him seek consecration at the hands of the bishops of Gaul, and appointed Virgilius, formerly Abbot of Lerins, and then Archbishop of Arles, to consecrate Augustine, and on Nov. 16th, A.D. 597, the latter was consecrated "Archbishop of the English people." In his letter to Virgilius regarding Augustine the Pope said: "If the missioners, whom we send shall succeed in their mission, you will yourself share in their reward." It is interesting, then, to observe that both the Churches of England and Ireland have Gallican, not Roman, Orders.[29]

[1] "Illic ad aeternum regnum Christus invitat, hic diabolus ad temporale sollicitat . . . et mundus transit et concupscentia ejus."

[2] *Ep.*, 18, 19: "Aeterna regna capietis, . . . ob miserum regnum temporale quod utique momento transit."

[3] *Ante saecula, cf. Quicunque:* "Ante saecula genitus."

[4] It is possible, however, that authors of the Creed borrowed or worked upon Vincentius. The Creed looks a later document than the *Commonitorium;* it is simpler and more finished, and expresses more lucidly the thought which Vincentius works out more elaborately; *e.g.*, Vincentius has "Unam Divinitatem in Trinitatis plenitude"; the *Quicunque* has, "Unum Deum in Trinitate"; Vincentius has, "In Christo esse duas substantias, unam divinam,

alteram humanam, unam ex Patre, alteram ex matre"; Quicunque has "Deus est ex substantia Patris . . . et homo est ex substantia matris"; Vincentius, "Sed unus idemque Christus, Deus et homo"; *Quicunque*, "Qui licet Deus sit et homo; non duo tamen sed unus est Christus." Both have, "Perfectus Deus, perfectus homo," and "Alia est persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti." Hilary also has been suggested by Waterland as the author of the Athanasian Creed. That opinion mainly rests on the statement of Honoratus of Marseilles that Hilary "composed an admirable exposition of the creed."

[5] C. xviii.

[6] *Cf.* Lucretius, i. 127: "rerum naturam expandere dictis" = explain, unfold; and Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, ii. 28, 7: "Pandamus Deum," which refers to the exposition, and not to the propagation, of the Divine Name.

[7] Seneca, *Troades*, 884.

[8] *Conf.*, 1.

[9] *Ep.*, 9.

[10] *Ep.*, 2.

[11] ii., 13.

[12] *Conf.*, 58.

[13] C. vii.

[14] *Cf.* Orientius, i. 106: "At tua pulsavit stulta querela notos."

[15] *Pulsantes* were candidate monks, so called because they knocked at the doors (*pulsant ad fores*) of the monastery. There is, however, another reading, *pulsetur* (Bollandist), which may mean "was even blamed for me." *Cf.* Ulpian, *Digests*, "Pro quo pulsabatur," and "Pulsari crimine falso" (Claudian), to be arraigned on a false charge.

[16] *Conf.*, 29.

[17] *Conf.*, 54.

[18] Among other words that occur in both Hilary and Patrick are *assidue, indignissimi, salubris, coinquinare, piisimus, expertus, extraneus, excitatus* (raised up), *vita perennis, satagere, erogare*, etc.

[19] In this he seems to have had Germanus on his side against the Pope. Neither Hilary nor Germanus would have thought it necessary for Patrick to get Roman sanction for his mission. We shall return to this matter.

[20] Ecclus. vii. 15: "Hate no laborious work, neither husbandry, which the Most High hath ordained." The Latin is *rusticatio*, the Greek γεωργία.

[21] *Conf.*, 55.

[22] *Conf.*, 53: "Indicabant" (judicabant, B.), but "indicabant" is supported by "locum indicavit," Constantius (c. 17), and "qui mihi indicaverant ut ad ipsum monasterium ducentem viam demonstrarent."

[23] *Conf.*, 54.

[24] *Conf.*, 53.

[25] "Nunquam in tuo ore nisi pax, nisi castitas, nisi pietas, nisi caritas . . . illic castitas quae est sanctitas habitavit."

[26] *Conf.*, 33.
[27] "Proposita castitate religionis" (c. 44).
[28] *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church.*
[29] Bede gives the name of the Archbishop of Arles as Aetherius (*Hist. Eccl.*), i. 27.

Note on Hilary's *Sermo.*

Patrick's indebtedness to the Latin translation of Irenaeus has already been mentioned. It seems to have been one of the books studied in the College of Lerins. Hilary has many reminiscences of it. He quotes Prov. i. 20: "Sapientia in exitu cantiur," with *Adv. Haer.* v. 20, 1, the Vulgate having "foris praedicat." He also cites Ps. xc., 13: "Conculcabis leonem et draconem," which was cited by *Adv. Haer.*, iii. 23, 6, in a passage in which the changes are rung on the word "calcare." We also notice the use of the word "eremum," for "desertum." Hilary speaks of Honoratus' desire to go "in eremum," and of his "eremi desideria." The word occurs in *Adv. Haer., e.g.*, "in eremo," iv. 14, 1: "in eremo," iv. 33.; ii. 24, 4. The Vulgate prefers "in deserto." "Eremum," in *Adv. Haer.* is simply a transliteration, not a translation, of the Greek. The word is used by Orientius, "Tristia non eremo" (ii. 170). and it occurs in the name of Eucherius' work, *De Laude Eremi.* It was probably adopted from the *Adv. Haer.*

The contrast between the kingdom that is eternal and the kingdom that is temporal, which Hilary says was the subject of Honoratus' discourses, was taken from the *Treatise*, where "aeterna vita," and "temporalis vita" (v. 3, 3); "aeternus mundus" and "temporalis mundus" (ii. 3, 1); the things that are "aeterna" and those that are "temporalia" (ii. 7, 2); the "temporalia regna" and the "aeternum regnum" (iv., 7, 1), are contrasted.

One more proof that the *Treatise* of Irenaeus was used by this school in the South of Gaul is the definition of the Incarnation by Gennadius of Marseilles, who wrote the *Life* of Salvian, and who died about 496. In his *De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus*, he defines the Incarnation after *Adv. Haer.*, iii., 19, 1: "Dei Filius factus est Hominis Filius" (*Adv. Haer.*, "Qui Filius Dei est Filius Hominis factus est"). He also wrote of the Trinity: "Unus natura in Sancta Trinitate Deus, Pater et Spiritus Sanctus."

(Among other words which Hilary may have found in the *Treatise* are *erogare, subditus, coinquinare, assidue, claritas, profectus, infatigabilis*, etc.)

CHAPTER VI.

ST. PATRICK AND GERMANUS OF AUXERRE.

GERMANUS of Auxerre obtained a reputation for sanctity and goodness in his own country second only to that of the great Martin of Tours. In the *Chronica Gallica*,[1] under the year 452, we read: "Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, is distinguished by his virtues and strenuous life." Nicetius of Trier could give no higher praise to Annianus than to describe him as "equal to Lupus and not unequal to Germanus."[2] But of the Gallic saints, even Martin among them, Germanus received the highest honour in Britain. Hereric, in his account of the miracles of Germanus (834–883), writes: "Britain was peculiarly devoted to the blessed Germanus."[3] The cause of this remarkable devotion to Germanus was the interest he had shown in Britain by coming to it on two separate occasions to help the orthodox party against the Pelagians. Prosper Tiro in his *Chronicle* (published A.D. 433), under the year 429, writes: "Agricola the Pelagian, son of the Pelagian bishop Severus, corrupts the churches of Britain by introducing his doctrine (*dogmatis sui insinuatione*); but by the advice of Palladius the deacon (*ad insinuationem* (*actionem?*) *Palladii*) Pope Celestine sends Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, as his representative (*vice sua*), and he having

routed the heretics, leads the Britons into the Catholic faith." [4] This statement is to be taken in connection with two other statements of this writer. The first occurs in his *Chronicle* under the year 431. "Palladius, having been ordained by Pope Celestine, is sent as their first bishop to the Scots (*i.e.* the Irish), believing in Christ." [5] The second is in his book against Cassian,[6] in which he takes occasion to praise the lately deceased Celestine. "With no less care did he free the British isles from that same disease (*i.e.* Pelagianism) . . . and by ordaining a bishop for the Irish, whilst he tried to keep the Roman island Catholic, he also made the barbarous island Christian." This was written about 437.

It will be seen from these passages that Prosper was a strong advocate of the Roman See, which was at this time putting forth claims to precedence and rule which were not acknowledged by the leading Gallican bishops. In 445 we find Hilary and Germanus united against Leo in the case of Celidonius. Hilary, Metropolitan of Arles, as his biographer Honoratus of Marseilles relates, often visited Germanus, with whom "he discussed the care and life of the priests (*sacerdotum*, probably bishops) and clergy, and also their progress and their deaths." [7] Complaints were brought before them against Celidonius, bishop of Besançon. Accordingly they summoned a synod, and deposed Celidonius. But he appealed to the Pope. Hilary visited the latter, and urged him not to interfere in the matter. But Leo eventually obtained a rescript from Valentinian (6th June, 445) which gave the Roman bishop supreme spiritual jurisdiction and complete authority over the whole Church in the West,[8] and in accordance with it he attempted to deprive

Hilary of his powers as metropolitan. The immediate point of interest to us in this matter is the association of Germanus with Hilary in this action against Celidonius and indirectly against the Pope. It throws light on the independent manner in which Germanus ordained Patrick as bishop of Ireland.

Our principal authority for the events of Germanus' life is his *Life*.

There are two editions of this *Life*, one by Mombritius (*circa* 1480) at Milan; the other by Surius, which appears in *De Probatis Sanctorum Historiis* at Cologne, 1573. That by Mombritius is full of errors, and is much shorter than that by Surius, which, however, includes several long and useless interpolations. This is not the place to enter into a critical discussion of the various manuscripts of the *Life* of Germanus used by these editors. This has been already done by Dr. Wilhelm Levison in *Neues Archiv.*, 1903. Two of the best MSS. are in the British Museum.[9] Both are referred to the thirteenth century. Levison's conclusion is that the *Life* edited by Mombritius is the older and the more reliable; and that the edition by Surius contains this *Life* with extensive additions from other sources. The author did not intend his name to be forgotten. Two letters at the beginning of the expanded text, and also found in MSS. of the older text, proclaim the fact that the work is by Constantius. The first of these is addressed to Patiens, who became Bishop of Lyons in succession to Eucherius in 449, and was praised by Sidonius for his mildness and his orthodoxy.[10] He must have died some time before 495, as his second successor, Rusticius, became bishop shortly after that date.[11] The second letter was addressed to Censurius, bishop of Auxerre, as "pope Censurius,"[12] to whom,

Sidonius wrote about the year 475. To this writer Constantius Sidonius himself dedicated some of his letters, the last of these being of the year 480. Sidonius describes Constantius as "a person of dignified age, enfeebled health, high nobility, impressive piety," [13] refers to his Biblical studies: "If you have a breathing moment from your course of Scripture reading," [14] describes him as "a patron not only of studies, but also of the studious," and sends him his letters to revise. It was doubtless owing to his literary and religious reputation that Constantius was requested to write the life of Germanus.

Constantius describes himself as "Constantius *peccator*." [15] The bishops and writers of the fifth and sixth centuries affected the title of *peccator*. Patrick began his *Confession* with the words: "Ego Patricius peccator," and his *Letter* with the words: "Patricius peccator." Orientius, Bishop of Auch, described himself as the worst sinner.[16] These instances may not be quite to the point. But Dr. Levison refers in a note to the passage "Leudobaudis *peccator* ecclesiae Sagensis," [17] and the signature of *peccator* to a document of Eligius of 632, and suggests that it was probably this style that caused Isidore of Seville (600–636) in his *De Viris Illustribus* to describe Constantius as bishop. But in some of the copies of this work his rank is given as presbyter. His *Life* of Germanus cannot have been written after 490 or before 450. The death of Germanus took place 445–450.[18] And the biographer says a considerable time elapsed—"tanta enim jam temporum fluxere curricula"—before he wrote. Constantius speaks with an affected modesty disparaging his work after the style of the sophists, who excused their want of skill when overflowing with

eloquence.[19] This was the fashion of the day, and it may possibly explain certain self-depreciating expressions in the writings of St. Patrick, *e.g.* "I dread to expose my own ignorance"; [20] "The Lord hinted to my ignorance." [21]

The *Life* of Germanus abounds with the miraculous. In this respect it is a striking contrast to the *Confession* of Patrick, who does not speak of any wonders that he wrought himself, but of the "signs and wonders that were manifested to him by the Lord." He says: "Non silebo neque abscondo signa et mirabilia quae mihi a Domino ministrata sunt." [22] Constantius follows the *Life* of St. Martin, written by his friend Sulpicius Severus, which abounded in miracles. He begins with an account of the training and education of Germanus. He says [23] that after the Gallic lecture-rooms, he added to his accomplishments the knowledge of law in the city of Rome—"post auditoria Gallicana intra urbem Romam *juris scientiam* adjecit." This may throw a light on Patrick's plaintive tones,[24] "And you chaste rhetorician of the Lord,[25] hear and seek it out. Who was it that called me forth from the midst of those who seem to be wise and trained in the law" (*legis periti*)? But it is equally possible that the reference here is to the *law* of God, *i.e.* the Scriptures.

The connexion of Germanus with Britain began in 429. Prosper's notice has already been given. The account in the *Life* is as follows: "A deputation (*legatio*) from the Britains (*ex Britanniis*) announced to the Gallican bishops that the Pelagian *perversity* had got a hold of the people far and wide in their districts, and that the Catholic faith required their support. Accordingly, a large synod assembled, and by their unanimous decision Germanus and Lupus,

two apostolic bishops (*sacerdotes*), famous lights of religion, were requested to undertake the work." [26] This is also Bede's account.[27] There is no mention of any Roman mandate or commission here. Constantius would surely have mentioned it, if there had been such a mandate. Germanus and Lupus, who was not mentioned by Prosper, visited Britain, performed miracles, defeated the Pelagians, and visited the tomb of St. Albanus. But before they returned, Germanus helped the Britons to overcome the Picts and Saxons in the Hallelujah Victory, without striking a blow. Gregory the Great, in a note on Job xxxvi. 30, seems to refer to the Hallelujah victory. "The language of Britain which had hitherto been accustomed to a barbarous snarl (barbarum frendere) has now begun to chant the Hebrew Hallelujah in divine songs." [28] In the *Historia Britonum*,[29] which is, however, not a very reliable source, we are told that "Vortigern obtained the kingdom in Britain when Theodosius and Valentinian were Consuls (423) and in the fourth year of his reign, in the consulship of Felix and Taurus (429) the Saxons came to Britain." This date, strangely enough, agrees with that of the first visit of Germanus. We shall return to Vortigern's connexion with Germanus.

The *Life* then relates how Germanus undertook an embassy to Auxiliaris, Prefect of the Gauls, in order to obtain relief from the heavy taxation for his people. He was hospitably entertained by Hilary of Arles. The *Life* then proceeds to the second journey to Britain. This was due to the revival of the Pelagian heresy. And again Germanus goes forth at the request of the Gallican bishops, and not by the order of the Roman Bishop. This time he is accompanied by Bishop Severus. Prosper passes over this journey in silence.

The biographer, however, states that this visit was so successful that "now (*c.* 480) the faith endures untarnished in those places." Pelagianism, however, seemed to survive and pass over into Ireland.

Bede (725) has made considerable use of this *Life* of Germanus. He refers to the Pelagian Agricola and to the first journey of Germanus to Britain, but *omits the papal commission*, although he seems to have been acquainted with Prosper's note, doubtless because he considered Constantius' statement more reliable. Bede cannot be accused of excessive love for the native Celtic Church.[30] Britain's martyr, St. Alban, is first mentioned in this *Life* of Germanus. The story is afterwards developed by Bede. Adamnan of Iona (704), in his *Life* of Columba, refers to Germanus' unpleasant experiences on sea in his first voyage to Britain. This shows that he, too, was acquainted with this *Life* of Germanus.

But it is chiefly with our own national Saint Patrick that Germanus is associated in early tradition. If Palladius and Patrick were the same man, as Loofs and Zimmer hold, and if it was at the instigation of Patrick (= Palladius) that Germanus came to Britain (429), as Prosper relates, and if Patrick (= Palladius) was sent by the same Pope Celestine to the Scots, believing in Christ as their first bishop, as Prosper says of Palladius (431), the whole story is wonderfully simplified. And if Patrick had never spoken for himself in his *Confession* and *Epistle*, that story might go for ever unchallenged. But in the *Confession* Patrick complains of ingratitude, and answers the charges of presumption and arrogance made against him and his episcopate. Here would be an opportunity to mention his mission from Rome.[31] He says he is "appointed bishop in

Ireland." [32] He speaks of his "laborious office of bishop." [33] He distinctly says that it was "in Britanniis" (in the Britains) that the clergy met who appointed him, and that one of these, his detractor, had said to him: "See thou art to be raised to the dignity of bishop." [34] It was when he was "in Britanniis" with his relatives, or parents, that he saw the vision of Victoricus and his letter.[35] On no occasion does he speak of Rome or its bishop. In *Epistle* 14, he refers to the custom among the Roman and Gallic Christians of redeeming prisoners of war from the Franks. But he does not identify himself with the Roman Christians. He speaks of the Roman Christians (*sancti*, a general term for Christians) in *Epist.* 2: "I do not say to *my* fellow-citizens or to the fellow-citizens of the Roman Christians," where he distinguishes his *cives* from the *cives* of the Roman Christians. But he longs to return "to the Gauls, to visit his brethren (*fratres*), and to see the face of the saints of my Lord," [36] doubtless a reference to the brethren of the establishment in Gaul where he had been trained. To those brethren he referred in *Confession*, 14. He desired to leave to the *brethren* (he had in Gaul) and to the sons he had baptized *exagallias* (= *exaggeliam* ?), a confession.[37] He, strangely enough for a deacon of Rome and an agent of Pope Celestine, never expressed any desire to see Rome, Italy, or the Roman Christians. His identity with Palladius has been established by Professor Zimmer philologically on the equation Succatus = Palladius, warlike! [38] Sochet is more probably an attempt to represent *sacerdos* (Sogart, Irish) or Scotus, which would be pronounced by an Irish drawl, then and now, as Socotus. Bede, it is true, does not mention Patrick, but Palladius, in his history,

However, in the oldest *Lives* of St. Patrick, Tírechán's and Muirchus', they are distinct persons. Muirchu says : " Palladius, archdeacon of Pope Celestine, bishop of the city of Rome, had been ordained (bishop) and sent to convert this island in the cold north. But this was his obstacle, that no one can receive from earth what has not been given him from heaven. For neither did these fierce and untamed people accept his doctrine, nor did he himself wish to spend his life in a strange land. So he returned to him that sent him, and having crossed the first sea, and begun the land journey, he died in the land of the Britons." *

Tírechán himself does not mention Palladius. But in the notes added by Ferdomnach (ninth century) to Tírechán's work, [39] it is said that, " Patrick was sent by bishop Celestine, pope of Rome, to teach the Irish. Palladius was first sent as bishop, who is also called Patrick. He suffered martyrdom among the Irish as ancient clergy relate.

" Then the second Patrick (or Patrick the second bishop) is sent by an angel of God, Victor by name and by Pope Celestine."

Tírechán himself at the commencement of his second book did not associate the Pope with this mission. When maintaining the " paruchia Patricii " he declared that " God, *by the angel of the Lord*, gave to him (Patrick) the whole island and its inhabitants."

The collaboration of the Pope in this mission was, therefore, clearly an afterthought due to these additional notes of the ninth century. It was these same notes that gave rise to the idea of a Sen Patrick [40]

* The Brussels MS. of Muirchu's *Life* has *Pictorum* instead of *Britonum*.

to be distinguished from our Patrick, which Professor Bury styles "the Sen Patraicc delusion." *

The Patrick—Germanus tradition is perhaps the best answer to the Patrick-Palladius theory.

Even tradition could hardly make the same man play two such distinct and opposite parts in connexion with Germanus as Palladius and Patrick did. The passage from Prosper's *Chronicle* (sub anno. 432) regarding the sending of Germanus by Pope Celestine to Britain, at the instance of Palladius, his deacon, has already been quoted. In Muirchu's account,† Patrick was on his way from Britain to visit the apostolic seat, but before he crossed the Gallic Alps he halted at Auxerre. "There he found Germanus. With him he stayed a considerable time. As Paul sat at the feet of Gamaliel, so did he sit at the feet of Germanus, with all submission, patience, and obedience. He learned knowledge, he loved wisdom. He cherished chastity and everything that was useful for his soul and spirit, with a great fear and love of God, in goodness and simplicity of heart, with all the strength of his body and soul, and all the desire of his mind."

Warned then by frequent visions, in which Victoricus appeared to him, he resumed his journey, Germanus sending with him one Segitius, a presbyter to be a "witness" for him. But the news of the death of Palladius reached him at Ebmoria (Evreux ?), so he and his companions broke off their journey (to Rome presumably), and turned aside to visit a certain remarkable and venerable bishop, *Amatho rege* [41], by name. By him he was consecrated bishop, while Auxilius and Iserninus and the others, received inferior orders.

* *Ibid.*, p. 344.

† The leaf containing this narrative is missing from the *Book of Armagh*, but the Brussels MS. contains the whole story.

This is clearly intended for Amator, but as he died in 418, he is out of the question. It is probable that Muirchu confused Patrick's ordination as deacon with his consecration as Bishop. For Muirchu had just stated that Patrick "*had not yet*" * been ordained bishop by Germanus," implying that it was Germanus who ordained him.

We have already seen that in the statement of Tírechán in the notes prefixed to his memoir to the effect that "he (Sachellus) went away with Patrick to study thirty years (ad legendum xxx annis), and he ordained him in the city of Rome and gave him the name of Sachellus, and wrote for him the books of the Psalms, which I saw, and he (Sachellus) carried from him part of the relics of Peter and Paul, Laurence and Stephen, which are in Armagh," is inconsistent with the account which Muirchu gives of a contemplated but not completed journey to Rome.

Is there any special reason why a visit to Rome should have been attributed to Patrick by Tírechán? And a projected, if interrupted, journey [42] to Rome by Muirchu? There is. A visit to Rome was considered in the seventh and eighth centuries, and also before that time, to confer distinction. Hence,[43] Constantius describes Germanus as paying a visit to Rome. Hence, Gregory of Tours, writing at the end of the sixth century, says Germanus died at Rome,[44] although it must have been well known in Gaul at the time that he had died in Ravenna, with the Empress Placidia, who did not live in Rome, by his bedside. Hence, a journey to Rome is attributed to Gregory himself in Odo's *Life* of him, but is pronounced improbable by Monod in his work *Études Critiques* (p. 37). Hence, the

* Nec adhuc a sancto Germano in pontificali gradu ordinatus est.

Vetus Missale Gallicanum (600–700) says of Germanus, "per totas Gallias, *Roma*, in Ectalia (Italia), in Brettania *annis triginta*, . . . corpore adflictus, jejuniis, jugiter in tuo nomine praedicavit." (Through all the Gauls, in Rome, Italy, Britain for thirty years afflicted in his body (by sickness ?) and by fastings, he freely preached in thy name). Here we have another mention of Rome in connection with Germanus, whose visit to Rome after his ordination is not recorded, in his own biography. The *thirty years* of Germanus' episcopate may have suggested that number to Tírechán for Patrick. There would be little wonder if Tírechán wished to add a similar prestige to his national Saint.[45] We may also compare with the above statement about Germanus the notice of Patrick's travels in Tírechán's memoir, that for seven years he wandered about on land and sea, over hill and dale, "through the Gauls and the whole of Italy, and in the islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea" (per Gallias atque Italiam totam atque in insolis quae sunt in mari Terreno), "as he said himself in his book *Commemoratio Laborum*." In one of the *Dicta Patricii*,[42] which may have been influenced by the above statement concerning Germanus, as regards Italy, at least, he says: "I had the fear of God to guide my journey through the *Gauls and Italy*, also in the islands which are in the Tyrrhene Sea." And Tírechán says, "He was in one of the islands which is called Aralensis (= Lerinensis, Todd) for *thirty years*, as Ultan bore witness." Here we have the thirty years again, which may have been a reminiscence of Germanus' thirty years. It is also to be noticed that Muirchu states that Patrick stayed with Germanus "a considerable time, some say forty, and others, thirty years." It is upon such sayings which cannot

be altogether rejected that the theory of Patrick's stay in the monastery of Lerins, where Faustus of Reii (Riez), another Briton and contemporary of Patrick was abbot (432–490 ?), is founded.

Germanus is connected in tradition with many parts of Britain. There is an interesting Cornish fragment of a *Missa S. Germani* of the ninth century, in which he is praised as " the light and pillar of Cornwall and the herald of the truth, who bloomed like roses and lilies in the garden of Thy Church in Llanaledh (St. Germains), and dispersed the shadows of unbelief, and who was sent to us by the holy Gregory, Apostolic of the Roman city." Notice how Saxon influence caused the Britons to attribute the mission of Germanus to the man who sent their enemy Augustine. The madness and cruelty of Vortigern, which Germanus is said to have exposed, is spoken of in the same fragment. Gerald of Wales [46] mentions a number of customs which are said to have been introduced into Wales by Germanus and Lupus (Bleiddian). Samson, a famous Welshman, who fled to Brittany with many others because of the cruel persecution of the Saxons, is said to have been a pupil of Germanus, and to have been priested by him. Dubricius of Llandaff, who died 612, according to the *Liber Landavensis*, was made archbishop by Germanus and Lupus, " super omnes Britannos dextralis partis Britanniae " ! A dispute between Oxford and Cambridge for precedence in the sixteenth century was settled in favour of the former, because of the statement in Constantius' *Life* (*c.* 14), that the whole district (*regionis universitas*) sided with Germanus and Lupus against the Pelagians !

But it is chiefly the connexion of Germanus with Patrick in tradition more or less reliable, that interests

us just now. Muirchu's reference to Patrick's stay with Germanus has already been mentioned. Germanus is said by Muirchu to have given Patrick a companion, Segitius, as a "witness," and we have good grounds for believing that Germanus ordained Patrick as priest, if not as bishop. If he had been ordained bishop by Germanus, and appointed by him to take the place of Palladius, it would explain the opposition of the presbyters (*aliquanti seniores*) of *Conf.*, 25. Germanus would be anxious to have this appointment ratified by the British clergy and bishops, the fellow-countrymen of Patrick, with whom he was on friendly terms. He most probably sent Patrick's own friend, who congratulated Patrick on his appointment, saying: "Thou art to be advanced to the office of a bishop" ("dandus es ad gradum episcopatus"), to announce the fact. A synod was, accordingly, held *in Britanniis*.[47] But the announcement of the envoy was not well received. And when he betrayed privately the secret sin which Patrick had confessed to him as his "soul's friend," his "anm chara,"[48] the clergy, who were probably jealous enough before, now urged that sin against entrusting Patrick with the mission, "an episcopate full of dangers,"[49] and rejected him, in spite of the envoy's public defence of the man he had privately betrayed.[50] When the news of his rejection came to him, Patrick was greatly grieved. But he was encouraged by a vision. He saw his name written without the title (*sine honore*) which had been conferred upon him by Germanus, and he hears the Lord saying, "We have seen with sorrow the face of Our elect without his proper title."[51] Accordingly, he did not allow his journey, which he had determined upon, to be interrupted, or his work which he had learnt from

Christ to be hindered, and he felt no little virtue proceeding from Christ, and his "*faith was approved in the sight of God and men.*" [52] The concluding sentence means that Germanus and his friends—the brothers whom he longed to visit—gave him some further expression of their approval to encourage him. The key to the whole story is the appointment of Patrick by Germanus or some other Gallic bishop to a *legatio*,[53] or mission, similar to that which Germanus had undertaken to Britain at the request of a Gallic synod, to Ireland, which, however, the British clergy refused to confirm.

In the hymn of Fíacc it is said :

"In the isles of the Tyrrhene Sea he fasted, in them he computed,
He read the canon with Germanus, that is what writings narrate."

In the *Vita Terita* Patrick is said to have gone to Mons Arnon ; in the *Tripartite*, and in Probus to Mount Hermon, which means "the Mount of Germanus." There are several places called Llanarmon, or the Church of Germanus, in Wales. There is one near Mold, where we also have Maes-Garmon, the field of Germanus. There the Hallelujah Victory is said to have been won. There are two others near Oswestry. There may have been a Pen-Armon or Mount of Germanus also. Nennius, a Welshman (A.D. 800), used an old Welsh *Life* of Germanus, in which Vortigern plays a part. But that *Life* has been lost.

It may have been from Germanus [54] that Patrick imbibed his veneration for the Holy Trinity. After his ordination Muirchu says, "the venerable traveller embarked on the ship in the name of the Holy Trinity." Germanus invokes the holy Trinity, [55] and speaks "in the name of the Trinity" ; while Patrick says,

"We adore one God in the Trinity of the Sacred Name." [56]

Germanus had also a strong sense of the Divine Presence in his life. With this too he seems to have inspired Patrick. There is a beautiful metaphor in the *Confession,* where Patrick gives thanks to God, "Who hast thrown about me so great a mantle of Divinity." [57] This may be illustrated by such sayings from Constantius' *Life* of Germanus as: "Germanus was always conscious of the Divinity itself;" "so that you might perceive that the Divinity itself favoured their wishes"; "the Divinity is at hand"; [58] "the help of the Divinity." [59] Gennadius [60] used *Divinitas* of the Godhead, writing "verus Deus ex Divinitate."

Patrick, like Germanus, was always conscious of the Divine presence protecting him as with an aegis, from the assaults and ambushes of his enemies. In his *Confession,* 12, he relates how God had brought him safely out of twelve perils.

On one important matter in Patrick's *Confession* and *Epistle* light is thrown by the writings of his contemporaries. It was the custom with some Gallic bishops, or their admirers, to boast of their noble birth. Gregory of Tours declared that no one in Gaul was of nobler origin than himself, doubtless because he was of Roman descent. Germanus is described by Constantius as of illustrious birth (parentibus splendidissimiis procreatus). Fortunatus, doubtless in imitation, says of Germanus of Paris, that he was of honourable parents (honestis honoratisque parentibus procreatus). Hilary, in his sermon on Honoratus, speaks of his high-born estate (nobilitas splendidissima), and his noble family (suae familiae nobilitas). Constantius speaks of one Senator as of noble birth (natalibus

nobilis), and mentions one Agrestius " bene ingenuus " (very respectable). Sidonius describes Constantius, a contemporary bishop of Lyons—the writer of this *Life*—as of very high nobility (nobilitate sublimis). The *nobilitas* of Patrick was of a modified form. He says: " Ingenuus fui secundum carnem. Decorione patre nascor. Vendidi *nobilitatem* [61] meam pro utilitate aliorum ; " [62] " ut darem me et *ingenuitatem* meam pro utilitate aliorum." [63] Patrick does not declare he was born noble (*nobilis*), but respectable (*ingenuus*). And he speaks of the raid of Coroticus " ibi venumdati *ingenui* homines." [64] Patrick's *nobilitas* or distinction might refer to his Roman descent from the noble Calpurnia *gens*, on which ground his father may have given him the high-sounding title of Patricius [65] (Right Honourable), for which see Constantius' *Life*.[66] " Volusiani cujusdam filius qui tum *patricii* Segisvulti cancellis praeerat " ; or it may refer to his episcopal office. But, after all, Zimmer's [67] sneer at Patrick's nobility is unjustified. There was no man of his day who would have more cordially agreed with Hilary, who said in his *Sermon* on Honoratus: " It is the highest nobility to be reckoned a son of God " (" fastigium nobilitatis est inter Dei filios computari "), than he who always styled himself " Patricius peccator indoctus."

There is no mention of Patrick in this *Life* of Constantius, but in the *Acta Sanctorum* there is a metrical *Life* and prose account of the miracles of Germanus by Hereric (834–883), who mentions Patrick, " the special (*peculiaris*) apostle of the Hibernian region," as one of the most famous of the disciples of Germanus. Hereric says that Germanus sent Patrick to Celestine, and that Celestine sent him to Ireland. But in the

case of Germanus himself he follows the *Life* by Constantius, and has no reference whatever to an episcopal commission. It is interesting to find that there are parallels for some of the more striking and difficult passages in Patrick's writings in the *Life* of Germanus.

Patrick must have survived his friend Germanus many years. For the latter died between 444 and 450 A.D. After 444, when he assisted Hilary in the deposition of Celedonius, and before 450 when Placidia died, who is mentioned as having promised to bring his body from Ravenna to Auxerre. Gregory of Tours wrongly states that he died in Rome. The loss of the friends of his early life whom Patrick longed to see again in the flesh must have reconciled him to his laborious mission and long pilgrimage in the land that years after his death grew to love and venerate his name, and for whom at this present hour all Irishmen of all creeds unite in cherishing affection and veneration: We all claim him because we all love him.

[1] C. 114; Ed. Mommsen: "Germanus episcopus Altisiodori virtutibus et vitae districtione clanscit."

[2] Sidonii *Epist.* viii. 15.

[3] *Miracula Germani*, i. 80 (ed. Boschius): "Britannia beato Germano peculiari devotione submissa."

[4] "Ad insinuationem Palladii diaconi papa Caelestinus Germanum Autisidorensem episcopum vice sua mittit et, deturbatis hereticis, Britannos ad catholicam fidem dirigit."

[5] "Ad Scottos in Christum credentes ordinatus a papa Caelestino Palladius primus episcopus mittitur."

[6] *Contra Collatorem.*

[7] *Vita Hilar. Arelat.*, c. 16.

[8] "Ut episcopis Gallicanis omnibusque pro lege esset quidquid apostolicae sedis auctoritas sanxisset; ita ut quisquis episcoporum ad judicium Romani antistitis evocatus venire neglexisset per moderatorem ejusdem provinciae adesse cogeretur."

[9] Harleian MS., n. 2801, and Additional MS., n. 17357.

[10] Sidonii *Epist.* vi. 12.

[11] Ennodius, *Vita Epifani*, c. 141.

[12] "Censurio papae." Sidonius addressed the bishops as

" domine papa " (see *Epist.* vi. 1–12, etc.). The Roman bishops had not set up their monopoly in this title then.

[13] *Epist.* iii. 2: " Persona aetate gravis, infirmitate fragilis nobilitate sublimis, religione venerabilis."

[14] *Ibid.*, vii. 18: " Si quid a lectionis sacrae continuatione respiras."

[15] *Ibid.*, i. 1.

[16] *Commonitorium*, i. 610. See chapter on Orientius.

[17] *Op. cit.*, s. 108.

[18] This is fixed by the fact that, according to the *Life*, Placidia the Empress, who died 27th November, 450, in Rome, is described as attending on his sick bed in Ravenna.

[19] Sulpicius Severus, *Dialog.* i. 27, 5: " Cum sis scholasticus hoc ipsum quasi scholasticus artificiose facis ut *excuses imperitiam*, quia exuberas eloquio."

[20] *Conf.*, 1: " Pertimeo denudare *imperitiam* meam."

[21] *Ep.*, 20: " Intimavit (Deus) imperitiae meae."

[22] *Conf.*, 45.

[23] *C.* i.

[24] *Conf.*, 13.

[25] Reading *Domini casti rethorici*, my own conjecture for *dominicati*. Orientius (ii. 332) describes the divinity students as " corpore nec solo sed toto et pectori *casti*."

[26] Victricius of Rouen, a friend of Martin of Tours, who came " de extimo orbe," probably Britain, had been summoned previously to Britain in 395 to help the bishops there to deal with Pelagianism. There seems to have been a constant intercourse between Gaul and Britain, to judge from the influence of Martin, Hilary (of whom we have two hymns, one in the Liber *Hymnorum*, and the other in the Antiphon. Banchor), Victricius, Germanus, Lupus, Severus, Gregory of Tours, etc., in Britain. The Saxon invaders doubtless put a stop to that communication between the Churches.

[27] *Hist. Eccles.*, i. 7.

[28] *Moralia*, xxvii. 11.

[29] C. 66.

[30] He describes the opposition of the Britons to the Roman aggression as due to their evil morals (*moribusque improbis*), a gross slander, similar to that spread by Giraldus of Wales, who preached in Christ Church against the Irish clergy, alleging that there were no martyrs among them. He was promptly answered by the preacher on the following Sunday, who said that that reproach would now be wiped away as a nation that made martyrs had come among them.

[31] Professor Zimmer holds that Patrick concealed this in order to avoid raising angry feelings in the Irish.

[32] *Ep.*, 1: " Hiberione constitutum episcopum."

[33] *Conf.*, 26: " Laboriosum episcopatum."

[34] *Conf.*, 32: " Ecce dandus es ad gradum episcopatus."

[35] *Conf.*, 23; *cf. Conf.*, 43.

[36] " Ad Gallias visitare fratres " (*Conf.*, 43).

[37] Latinized form of ἐξαγγελία, confession, in Sophronius, or, to

the brethren *from the Gauls* (*ex Galliis*). This would be a more probable reading, I think.

[38] *Early Celtic Church*, p. 38.

[39] For the Additions to Tírechán. See Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 251; and Dr. Gwynn's Edition of the *Book of Armagh*, c. vi.

[40] See *Chronicon Scotorum*, sub a. 457, "Sen-Patrick, bishop, falls asleep" (at Glastonbury).

[41] My own explanation of this expression may seem far-fetched. But if we allow for abbreviations, which were frequent in the case of names, and if we get rid of the idea of Amator, which is an anachronism, we may arrive at the source of the expression. Germanus ordained Patrick, just as Virgilius of Arles ordained Augustine of Canterbury. In Constantius' *Life of Germanus*, that bishop was sent by a *legatio Armoricani tractus* to Britain. In Hereric's account of Germanus (875) Patrick is described as *Hibernicae apostolus regionis*. Accordingly, the expression *episcopum Armoricanae regionis* would be a correct description of Germanus. Abbreviation of this and confusion with Amator, the predecessor of Germanus, would produce the monstrosity *Amatho rege*. *Cf.* the expression in the *Vetus Missale Gallicanum* (600–700), p. 153, "Germanus episcopus *Tartarum eorum* (= Auturicorum). We also have the name *Aralensis* in Tírechán, a confusion of Lerina and Arelatensis.

[42] *Conf.*, 30. An interrupted journey to Ireland not to Rome.

[43] Burg. *Op. cit.*, pp. 169, 369 *et seq.*

[44] "Germanus autem gloriosus confessor in urbe Roma obiit."

[45] In Ireland there was no worship of relics. *Relec* in Irish meant a corpse, *e.g. senchas na relec*, history of burial places. Tírechán, probably to make the life of his hero parallel to that of Germanus, who is described by Constantius (*c.* 25) as "martyrum reliquias secum habens," made up for the omission by describing Sachellus carrying away part of the relics from him (*i.e.* Patrick).

[46] *Opera*, ed. Dimock, vi. 202.

[47] *Conf.*, 32.

[48] Patrick says of him: "Cui ego credidi animam meam" (*Conf.*, 32). He was doubtless a brother in the monastic establishment in which Patrick was studying for the ministry.

[49] *Conf.*, 26.

[50] Patrick could not understand this duplicity. "Sed unde venit illi postmodum?" he says (*Conf.*, 32). This would be clear enough to us if the man had to return to Germanus and give an account of the Synod. Germanus would not have been pleased if his envoy had spoken against his nominee—his *designatus*. (*Conf.*, 29).

[51] *Conf.*, 29.

[52] *Conf.*, 30: "Fides mea probata est coram Deo et hominibus." This was doubtless the foundation of the statement in the Ulster Annals, "probatus est in fide catolica Patricius episcopus."

[53] Patrick speaks of his mission as a *legatio*: "quia multi hanc *legationem* prohibebant" (*Conf.*, 46); "Deo meo pro quo *legationem*

fungor" (*Conf.*, 56). Constantius called the mission of Germanus to Britain a *legatio*.

[54] *Life of Germanus*, by Constantius.

[55] i. 23: "Sanctam invocat Trinitatem."

[56] *Conf.*, 4: "Adoramus unum Deum in Trinitate sacri nominis."

[57] *Conf.*, 34: "Qui mihi tantam Divinitatem co-operuisti." (CF^3F^4, Dr. N. J. D. White reads "aperuisti."

[58] i. 22.

[59] i. 28.

[60] *De Eccles. Dogmatibus. cf.* Irenaeus iv. 38, 4: "Potestatem Divinitatis bajulare non sustinentibus."

[61] Ducange, s. v. *ingenuitas*, cites a chart of Charlemagne of 881 in which *nobilitas* is in the same vague way applied to *ingenui*. "Sicut homines ingenui . . . ne eorum *ingenuitas* vel *nobilitas* vilescat." The *ingenui* were "a tributis immunes." Patrick seems to identify *nobilitas* and *ingenuitas* to some extent. See *Conf.*, 37, and *Ep.*, 10.

[62] *Ep.*, 10.

[63] *Conf.*, 37.

[64] *Ep.*, 15.

[65] Augustine's (of Hippo) father was Patricius.

[66] C. 38.

[67] *Early Celtic Church*, p. 39.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Yorkshire preserves the tradition of the friendship of Germanus and Patrick in the fact that there is an ancient church at Marske-by-the-Sea dedicated to St. Germain, and another at Winestead, not a mile away from the church of Patrington, so called after St. Patrick.

There are some remarkable differences in the autobiography of Patrick and the biography of Germanus. (1) The latter teems with miracles, often of an absurd nature. In the former there is only the miracle of the Love of God shown in the case of one who considered himself an undeserving sinner. But we have no doubt that if Germanus had related the story of his life, unless, indeed, his reason were affected by the absurd legends about Martin, he would have told a similarly plain and unvarnished tale. (2) We have already spoken of the worship or veneration of relics, which found no place in Patrick's teaching. (3) Patrick invokes no Saints, but Germanus is represented as invoking the dead Cassian: "Pro nobis et pro hoc plebe attentius intercede ad Dominum nostrum." These, however, may be later interpolations in the text of the *Life* of Germanus.

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